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ABSTRACT

To explain how and why the Portuguese mass media constitute a frustrated Fourth Estate, this monograph summarizes the history and development of Portuguese media. The first section summarized the history of media legislation that has confronted Portuguese journalists and stunted the development of journalistic tradition. The second section presents current statistics on the circulation and consumption of Portugeuse mass media and recounts its historical development. The third section begins a close examination of media types by detailing the political and economic situations of Portuguese newspapers and magazines, while the fourth describes press associations and their governmental and economic connections. The fifth section details the state supported and Catholic radio stations and their formats, and the sixth section examines how television has become more dependent on government support, yet is supposedly free from political manipulation. A final section focuses on the development of mass communication education, describing the establishment of bachelor degree programs at Portuguese universities. The report concludes by examining, in brief, the current bleak state of professional journalism in Portugal and the threat posed to the press by proposed legislation that would seriously limit key rights of journalists. (CRH)

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February 1984

WARREN K. AGEE
and
NELSON TRAQUINA

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A Frustrated Fourth Estate: Portugal's Post-Revolutionary Mass Media

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PORTUGUESE MEDIA HISTORY reads like a tragic soap opera set in Nineteenth Century France: short, sporadic bursts of press freedom sandwiched between longer, darker periods of repression and censorship. While Portugal today undeniably enjoys a fervent period of liberty, the somber light of four-plus decades of Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, which ended in a near bloodless revolution in April 1974, stunted the growth of the media's independence. At the first-ever Journalists' Congress in Lisbon in 1983, two Portuguese journalists characterized Portuguese media in these comparative and easily comprehensible terms: "If in the United States the press is a power, and in France a force, in Portugal the press is primarily a transmission belt of partisan, political power."[1] It would certainly be difficult to understand the continuing fight for independence of professionals in their day-to-day work today without a summary, but by no means exhaustive, look at the legal ground rules of professional activity, both past and present.

Portugal's Media Laws: Past & Present

Portugal's first Twentieth Century burst of media freedom occurred with the end of its monarchy and the establishment of the First Republic on October 5, 1910. Within five days, the repressive press law of 1907 was revoked and, within 23 days, a new press law was passed. Article 1 stipulated the absence of any kind of censorship while Article 2 defined penalties for any acts of censorship. One clause did allow the seizure of publications under very restricted conditions.[2]

The 16 years that elapsed before the First Republic was overthrown by the military in 1926 was not one uninterrupted span of media freedom. Freedom of the press was restricted upon Portugal's entry into World

War I in 1914. Police were given the power to seize publications that "divulged rumors or information that might alarm the public spirit."[3] The press, however, reacted against this measure, whereupon, days later, the government opted for a regime of prior censorship. News stories were published with the censored portions appearing as blank space.

At first tolerant, the press grew increasingly impatient and launched a campaign in 1917 that forced the government to restrict censorship to military news. But a rightist coup brought Sidonio Pais to power and censorship was abolished, only to be restored three weeks later. One law enacted in 1918 allowed district governors to suspend indefinitely any publication that "disturbed public order."[4]

In 1919, with the assassination of Sidonio Pais and the reestablishment of republican rule, press liberties were restored. Until the military intervened in politics in 1926, press liberties were restricted only for two months in 1925 because of an attempt to overthrow the government. The military officers who came to power at first adopted a hesitant posture vis-a-vis the press; two months elapsed before press censorship was restored. The first press law, enacted July 5, 1926, allowed the seizure of newspapers. Three newspapers suspended publication in reaction to the measure.

Until the establishment of the fascist-inspired "New State" soon thereafter, press liberties were suspended. The justification given was that the country lived under a state of emergency necessitating the suspension of all basic liberties. The constitution of 1933 endeavored to give the regime its ideological and political legitimacy. Salazar's "Estado Novo" constitution was the country's basic law until 1974; a new constitution was approved in 1976. The former guaranteed freedom of the press, but point two of Article 8 opened Pandora's box to repression by allowing censorship "to prevent the perversion of public opinion."[5] The law of April 11, 1933, created the General Director of Censorship Services, directly dependent on the Minister of the Interior.

The intensification of censorship and its growth in importance as a means of political containment are best attested by the development of the administrative body directly effectuating repression. In 1940 the Coordination Committee of Propaganda and Information Services was created. This committee was transformed into the office of the National Secretary of Information and Culture in 1944. The agency was no longer dependent on the Minister of the Interior, however, but was made directly responsive to Prime Minister Salazar himself.

Censorship was complete: everything, including weather reports, was subject to review by censors. Each day newspapers sent material to the censors prior to publication. The censors could authorize use of the material, stamping it "authorized" or "authorized with cuts," or refuse publication by stamping it "suspended," "retained," or "cut." This ter-

minology was altered somewhat by the liberalizing press law of 1972.[6] News from international news agencies also was subject to review by censors.

The vague language used in defining what could be censored led to great irregularities. What was not censored one day could be the next. In his excellent book, Arons de Carvalho gives a taste of how censors worked: certain words, such as "proletariat" and "class," automatically were cut; certain names were taboo; certain kinds of news stories were almost certainly cut, such as those pertaining to student demonstrations, military desertions, torture, and, later, any critical or negative reference to the colonial wars. Censors also could dictate the size of the article and its prominence by reducing headline size and changing its position in the newspaper.[7] Often editors played a game of cat-and-mouse, sending copy at certain times of the day when more tolerant censors were on duty. The censorship service even sent newspapers "directives," advising them how to handle certain events.

Censorship was not the only repressive measure used by the Salazar regime to strangle the media. Beyond the interdiction of innumerable films, books, and plays, the censorship service had the power to grant or deny the right of publication dependent upon its appreciation of the publisher's "intellectual and moral honesty." The law's indiscriminate language explains the extreme difficulty in starting newspapers after 1936, when prior authorization to publish was introduced. How this means was used to stop publication was demonstrated in 1936 when the weekly newspaper *O Sol* was forced to close after successive candidates to replace its deceased director (editor) were refused.[8] Publications also could be seized. The 1926 press law introduced numerous causes that could be invoked to justify interference with a publication, such as the publication of rumors that might "alarm the public" or defamation of or attacks against the President. In 1949, a Security Council was created and it was given full powers to halt publications. An already long list of "just causes" was made longer; for example, "pornographic, subversive, or simply clandestine" publications or visual reproductions could be seized.

Authorities also could fine and suspend publications for infractions of the press law without prior recourse to the courts. The newspaper *Republica* was suspended for three days when it refused to publish an editorial criticizing the hijacking of the ship Santa Maria in 1961. The newspaper *Diario de Mozambique* was suspended for 10 days when its director, the Bishop of Beira, published his Sunday homily without submitting it to censors.[9]

Because the system of censorship was so efficient, there were relatively few instances of judicial repression. The cases of serious injury or defamation brought to trial were few, in part because the complainants

realized the futility of such action. If the authorship were not clearly indicated, responsibility for an article had to be assumed by the editor. The editor was punished as an accomplice unless he successfully disclaimed responsibility on grounds that he did not know the existence of the article and, if he had known, he would not have allowed it to be published.

The Salazarist press laws provided the right of response. After the presumably injured party demanded publication of a letter of reply, the offending publication had only two days in which to publish the response. Publication could be refused only if it could be shown that the letter had no connection to facts referred to in the article. Even the right of response, however, was severely limited because of the censorship system.

After Salazar's death in 1970, the regime came under increasing pressure to liberalize its practices, if only for the sake of Portugal's international image. Censorship was a black stain, and the press law of 1972 abolished it except during a "state of emergency" or "grave acts of subversion." Because the government had previously declared Portugal to be in a state of emergency, censorship continued, but now as an exception.

Again, the "New State" legislators made a long list of matters subject to censorship, including "detailed and sensationalist descriptions of acts of vagrancy, dissoluteness, drug use, suicide, or violent crimes." Infractions could be punished with fines and up to two years' imprisonment. The vague and imprecise language permitted censors total discretion. The law also indicated subjects that were considered "always permitted," notably declarations of the Prime Minister and other members of government. Publications could be seized by police authorities only when "the urgency and gravity of the circumstances justify it." The law defined acts of defamation and slander but held author, department head, and editor all responsible for offenses. The law granted journalists a very limited right to protect sources and an equally limited right of access to information.

Within two years, young military captains toppled the 48-year-old regime in a matter of hours, ushering in a new era in Portuguese life. On that day, April 25, 1974, the newspaper *Republica* hit the streets without having gone to the censors. No law was needed to declare the end of censorship, although old habits did not end overnight. Basic liberties were restored, and the press law of 1975, the Constitution of 1976 (revised in 1982) and the Journalists' Statutes, approved in 1979, became the fundamental stones of solid legal base for professional independence.

The press law of February 2, 1975, established the important principles of freedom of expression, the public's right to be informed and the right of the press to inform.[10] The law explicitly granted the following rights to the press: freedom of access to "official sources," the right to protect

sources of information, the right to publish and "diffuse," and "the independence of the professional journalist and his participation in the orientation of the publication." The Constitution also guarantees all of these rights,[11] and both documents expressly prohibit censorship.

Any Portuguese citizen was free to start his own publication; the only limitation restricted to 10 percent the amount of foreign capital that could be invested. Infractions of the press law, such as defamation and slander, are well defined and aimed at protecting "organs of the State" from offense or other attacks. Infractions are judged in courts, and only the courts may interfere with a publication. The right of response is guaranteed. The law also attributes criminal responsibility for infractions of the law to the author only, or, if the article is unsigned, to the editor. The law does require publication of "official notes," although not necessarily in their entirety.

Portuguese legislation grants media the full liberties generally recognized as necessary for informing public opinion in democratic regimes. It goes further than the laws of most countries in documenting the rights of media professionals and arming them with a vast gamut of rights not often accorded elsewhere.

Following the precedent of French law, Article 9 of the Journalists' Statute grants journalists a "clause de conscience," allowing unilateral cessation of a contract should the publication "profoundly alter" its editorial policy, as an action recognized by the Press Council.[12] That same article legally forbids any kind of internal, organizational constraints. "Journalists," it affirms, "cannot be forced to express an opinion or commit an act contrary to their conscience." Article 13 expressly excludes government interference in licensing media professionals, declaring such action as solely of union competence. Any dispute over the acquisition, renewal, suspension, or loss of a license can be referred to the Press Council. Article 5 widens greatly the normally recognized "fundamental rights of journalists," granting them "participation in the life of the respective media of social communication, as prescribed by law."

The Portuguese Constitution (Article 38-3) grants journalists the right to elect "conselhos de redaccao," best translated as "newspeople staff councils." Eight days after the overthrow of the Salazarist regime, journalists called for the creation of these councils as a way for journalists to "exercise permanent control over their conditions and the quality of work, direction, and orientation of all organs of information." The 1975 press law explicitly delineated the powers of the "conselhos de redaccao" as follows: (1) to cooperate in the definition of editorial policy; (2) to vote on the admission, firing, or sanctioning of journalists; (3) to vote on all decisions that affect the activity and organization of journalists; and (4) to "give a favorable vote" on the nomination of the director, sub-director, and chief editor of the publication proposed by the owner. The press law

provides that disputes are to be arbitrated by the Press Council.[13]

According to law, the function of the Press Council is to safeguard the independence of media before "political and economic power." The council has many specific functions: (1) to "guarantee press rigor and objectivity and impede the apology and propaganda of fascist ideology and any others contrary to democratic liberties and the Constitution"; (2) to consider within eight days disputes over the nomination of directors; (3) to approve the change of editorial policies; (4) to verify and diffuse circulation data; (5) to classify periodicals; (6) to elaborate annual reports; and (7) to hear the complaints of citizens and journalists over media practices or possible violations of professional rights.

Although the list of functions is lengthy, the 17-member body, composed of representatives of Parliament, both public and private newspaper owners and editors, journalists, and other media workers, has little enforcement power. In most cases, the Press Council is limited to issuing recommendations and opinions.[14]

Portuguese legislation touches two other important points that should be noted: journalists' ethics and state intrusion into the operation of the news media. The 1975 press law stipulates that a publication must respect its editorial policy and "respect professional ethics." The Journalists' Statute calls on journalists to respect the code of ethics as a fundamental professional obligation. This code of ethics, approved in 1976, lists the following as journalists' professional obligations: (1) to demand rectification of inexact information; (2) to reject lies, false accusations, slander, defamation, and plagiarism; (3) always to demand that a distinction be made between news and opinion; (4) to maintain source confidentiality; (5) to fight against internal and external censorship; (6) to reveal one's identity as a journalist before interviewing; (7) to respect and fight for the public's right to know; and (8) to contribute to the formation of civic conscience.

Armed with this legal arsenal and buoyed with an imposing array of "conselhos," Portuguese journalists would seem prepared to do battle and win independence. Certainly the battle of Portuguese media professionals is still today on center stage; the rapport between "o poder" (a Portuguese catch-all term for government and those in positions of authority) and media was the *leitmotif* of the recent Journalists' Congress. And it is a battle that Portuguese journalists seem to feel they are not winning.

At the time of the military coup, a significant parcel of Portuguese newspapers was owned by banks. With the nationalization of the banks in March 1975, the state inadvertently entered the newspaper business as owner. Television already was state-owned, a situation that remained unchanged. The Portuguese Constitution expressly states that television cannot be privately owned.[15] Radio was partly state-controlled in 1974;

the remaining privately owned stations, except for the church-owned Radio Renascenca, were nationalized in late 1975.

The Constitution states that the state-owned media should operate independently from government and public authorities, "assuring the possibility of expression and confrontation of different currents of opinion." The state-owned newspapers, press association, radio, and television are "public enterprises with financial and administrative autonomy." A 1977 press law created additional press councils — one for each public media enterprise — whose task is to ensure independence from government and ideological pluralism. But, as Miguel Reis points out, the composition of these councils, consisting of one political party representative for each 10 deputies in Parliament, simply reproduces mini-parliaments, thereby reflecting dominant power relationships.[16]

The crux of continued state intrusion in Portuguese media is the direct role that government plays in naming directors and administrators of state-owned enterprises. The labyrinth of councils cannot dilute this simple fact. The directors and other administrators have no employment security; they can be dismissed at will. Accordingly, government influence in the activities of the professional media is hard to avoid. The conclusion that press freedom and professional independence are hampered in Portugal because of government's direct role in appointing media managers also is difficult to avoid. Despite the cushion of legal guarantees that is undeniably important, it is a fact that, just as the Director of Censors in the old regime was directly responsible to the Prime Minister, today state-owned media managers are appointed by the government's minister or secretary (the titles have changed during successive governments), who is directly responsible — again — to the Prime Minister. The conclusion of two Portuguese journalists is harsh:

> "O poder" controls the media. It is not a brazen, shocking, and persecuting control, but a control that makes its way supported by a subtle web of compadrios (favors), demotions, budget cuts, and all other thousand and one ways of transforming dirty deeds into acts of "national interest."[17]

Even a capsule review of post-1974 history shows a succession of governments of different political hues, all of which have established the same hierarchical, one-way relationship of government to state-owned media. The conclusion of one Portuguese analyst represents a consensus by many that the benefits of "manipulating" the media outweigh the good will of professing faith in the professional independence of journalists and the media.[18]

Media independence and state ownership are not necessarily self-excluding, as the solid journalistic tradition of the British Broadcasting Corporation attests, but the current method of appointing media managers is one major obstacle, compounded by others, that reduces pro-

fessional independence. Certainly, Portuguese media legislation is not only categorical in its affirmation of basic liberties, but it also equips media professionals with all the necessary rights to perform their function of informing public opinion. The historic weight of past legislation that strangled journalists, however, cannot be blotted out or neutralized overnight. It has stifled the growth of Portugal's Fourth Estate in one of its most vital aspects, namely the development of its own tradition in which journalists may indeed be guardians of the public. The recurrent demands of Portuguese journalists for respect are perhaps symptomatic of this historic perversion. Journalists now are free to wage their fight.

Portuguese Media History

"Mass media" is a Twentieth Century term that, some might say, is inappropriate to describe the media system of a country often called "the poor man of Europe." Portugal's primary television channel fails to reach all parts of the country, while the second channel covers only 65 percent and broadcasts merely six hours daily.[19] Ireland has twice the newspaper circulation for a population only one-third that of Portugal.[20]

An examination of Portuguese media history confirms a key theme introduced previously: constant government harassment has frustrated media growth. The first act of censorship preceded the appearance of newspapers when, in 1627, King Phillip the Third suppressed the publication of pamphlets.[21] Two centuries later, the founding of a constitutional monarchy brought the first press law and, with it, the end of censorship. At that time, in 1820, a French commentator pointed out the virtual nonexistence of periodicals in Portugal with these words: "The lack of periodicals leaves a considerable void in Portuguese literature."[22] Only three periodicals were published that year.[23] In 1821, however, 39 new publications appeared, but repression resumed a year later, and only five new publications appeared in 1825.

A seesaw, tighten-and-relax hold on the press remained constant over the next 30 years as partisans of an absolute monachy battled rivals seeking constitutional rule under a king. In 1834, press liberties were restored and again the press expanded: 54 new periodicals appeared in 1835, followed by 67 in 1836 and 59 in 1837.[24] But, when defenders of an absolute monarchy triumphed in 1842, a litany of repressive measures descended on the press; one action made press debuts a rarity by requiring would-be publishers to fulfill, within only a brief period of time, a number of complex formalities to demonstrate the applicant's "moral fitness." Authorities also ordered the postal services not to deliver certain publications to subscribers. The height of repression, however, came in 1850 with the so-called "Cork Law" (bottling up printed dissent) that created special courts to prosecute press infractions. This law raised

three-fold the necessary monetary deposit to begin publication and even prohibited street vendors from selling newspapers at night. The effect of this law was an immediate drop in the number of new publications.

The "Regeneracao" of a constitutional monarchy in 1851 revoked the infamous Cork Law and opened a new period of Portuguese media history lasting until 1890. A series of laws provided amnesty for "press crimes" and abolished press restrictions. In this sea of liberty, there appeared annually an average of 67 new publications from 1860 to 1869, 90 from 1870 to 1879 and a record 184 from 1880 to 1889.[25]

The Nineteenth Century saw the birth of the press of opinion in Portugal, chiefly characterized by small circulation and almost entirely limited to urban areas. The circulation of each leading publication rarely exceeded 2,000.[26] Statistics for 1880 show 200 publications with total circulation of only 100,000.[27] Not only were circulations low (and this still remains true), but the periodicals were distributed almost entirely in Lisbon and Oporto. In fact, before 1823, no periodical was published outside of Lisbon,[28] and by 1846 only six periodicals were published regularly outside of Lisbon and Oporto.[29]

The urban, elitist nature of the press can be explained by two factors. First, illiteracy was high, notably in rural areas. An 1820 study showed that the total number of persons receiving schooling did not exceed 39,000 in a population of more than 3 million.[30] An estimated 80 percent of the male population over the age of 12 was illiterate.[31] Second, the press was seen as a tribune to influence, not inform, the public. Between 1641 and 1872, of the 1,407 periodicals published, 850 were classified as political.[32] Periodicals acquired symbolic value as defenders or proponents of a cause, and they often were identified with a prominent intellectual personality.

Amid this rhetorical, partisan press, Eduardo Coelho started his *Diario de Noticias* in 1865. In it he endeavored to apply a new formula: the creation of a widely circulating, inexpensive newspaper that offered news, not merely opinion. In his first editorial, Coelho wrote that the newspaper would "interest all classes, be within the reach of all pocketbooks, and be comprehensible to all." He added: "We will not discuss politics or nourish polemical debates. We will register, with all possible truth, all events, letting the reader (whatever his opinions may be) interpret them as he knows best."[33] From its inception, *Diario de Noticias* not only was Portugal's first "penny press" (the newspaper cost 10 reis as compared with the then-prevalent 50 reis) but also was the first newspaper to depend upon advertising as its chief source of income. Within a few months, other publications followed this model. An Oporto-based version, *Jornal de Noticias,* was started a year later. In all, 33 publications were being sold for the 10-reis price by 1875.[34]

Toward the end of the century the rise of anarchism and the revolu-

tionary ideals of republican rule brought the wrath of monarchists, who were fighting for political survival. Press repression resumed in 1880. In 1890 a new decree escalated repression by allowing authorities to suspend newspapers should they employ "subversive phrases that endanger the security of the State and public order."[35] In 1904 police authorities assaulted various republican newspapers, including *O Seculo* and *O Mundo*. In 1906 a new press law was introduced in Parliament that provoked heated debate because of the harsh measures it prescribed: prior censorship, suspension of publication, and administrative seizure. The law was approved in 1907. Its effects were noteworthy: on December 7, 1907, no fewer than 10 of the 17 Lisbon dailies were suspended for press infractions.[36]

In the years that preceded the 1910 demise of the monarchy the press played a fulcral role as a revolutionary arm for the partisans of the Republic. With the advent of the First Republic, press censorship ended and numerous new publications appeared, notably *Republica* (1911) and *Diario de Lisboa* (1921). The extreme difficulty in starting new publications during the Salazarist dictatorship has already been noted; prominent newcomers, however, were *Diario Popular* (1942), *A Capital* (1968), and an influential weekly, *Expresso* (1973), the latter appearing on the eve of the 1974 military coup. Of course, other media also appeared: cinema (at the end of the Nineteenth Century), radio (the first broadcast was in 1914), and television (in 1957).

Under Salazar's ever-watchful eye, the media had been strait-jacketed by innumerable repressive measures. Their audiences had been reduced by the meager limits of economic growth and Salazar's seemingly conscious intention to maintain large segments of the populace opinionless. Salazar's principle that "educating the poor carried dangers for a well-ordered society and that peasant culture would be better preserved if it was not infused with new ideas" helped to produce an illiteracy rate of 37 percent, the highest in Western Europe."[37]

The winds of change, however, blew in from outside, occasioned by massive emigration to France and Germany, the loss of the colony of Goa to the Indian invasion in 1958 and the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in all three African colonies (Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau) in the early 1960s. In addition, the simultaneous process of European integration via EFTA and after the Common Market provoked an internal debate over the question, "Does the destiny of Portugal lie with Europe or Africa?"

Unlike its fascist German and Italian counterparts that made heavy use of the media, the Salazarist regime distrusted the press. "The press was seen not as part of the regime's ideological apparatus but as a potential vehicle for the opposition. Distrusted and circumscribed, it was never given a positive role . . . ."[38] Thus, lackluster and strangled, the Por-

tuguese press was virtually ignored by economic groups until the late 1960s. At that time newspapers were seen as important ideological tools useful to sway opinion-makers during this passionate debate over Portugal's destiny.

By 1973, as has been noted, most of the press was controlled by banks that often were a part of giant conglomerates with wide-ranging industrial and commercial interests, paralleling the pattern of press ownership in developed countries.[39] The Lisbon morning daily, *O Seculo*, belonged to the publishing house, Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, which later became the property of the Banco Intercontinental Portugues. The other major Lisbon daily, *Diario de Noticias*, and a large part of the capital of *Jornal de Noticias* belonged to Empresa Nacional de Publicidade; the latter, in turn, became the property of the Companhia Portugal e Colonia, whose stock majority was controlled by the bank, Caixa Geral de Depositos. *Diario Popular*, *O Comercio do Porto* and the Lisbon morning daily, *Jornal do Comercio*, were owned by the Banco Borges & Irmao group. *A Capital* was controlled by a holding company owned by several banks. Private shareholders held the majority of *Diario de Lisboa*'s stock but one-third was owned by Banco Nacional Ultramarino. The other major dailies that escaped bank control were *A Republica* (owned by 3,000 shareholders), *O Primeiro de Janeiro* (owned by the Pinto de Azevedo family) and *Epoca* (owned by the Salazar regime's official and only legal party, Accao Nacional Popular).[40]

These huge corporations made no attempt to increase profits by streamlining and modernizing the newspapers, which had antiquated production methods and inflated staffs. Instead newspaper ownership was used to achieve political and indirect economic benefits. One company started a paper in Angola and closed it two years later after acquiring valuable mineral rights. A newspaper was a political asset for any monopoly dependent on its privileged relationship with the government. And all profited from a 1972 law making losses on "organs of information and culture" tax deductible.[41]

After the 1 a.m. newscast on Radio-Clube Portugues on April 25, 1974, a song, "Grandola Vila Morena," was played. It was a signal that set in motion a series of military moves led by Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho that, in a matter of hours, swept away a decayed regime. People danced in the streets. What followed may have vexed many and satisfied few, but, once again, the media were at the center of the battle for power.

For 48 years newspapers had sent copy to censors — but not on the 25th of April. Within days, newspeople lashed out against their former censors — against both administrators and editors. A new word sounded loudly in newsrooms: "saneamento" (purging). Few news directors and newspaper administrators escaped the unleashed wrath. Media owners began to lose control, while newspeople demanded control. During their

first general assembly after the coup, the Journalists' Union demanded the creation of Conselhos de Redaccao (news-staff committees), while committees comprised of all the workers were established in each newspaper. New directors were appointed at *A Capital, Diario de Noticias,* and *Diario Popular,* to name only a few of the newspapers affected. The newspeople at *O Seculo* struck in order to force the administration's recognition of its workers' committee. Newspeople at *Jornal do Comercio* also struck to force the resignation of the paper's director, charged with "oppressive policies and exploitation of workers." In August, the newspaper was occupied by the workers and a general press strike was called that ultimately obtained success. Another conflict that would be a "cause celebre" in 1975, involving the Catholic Church station Radio Renascenca, also began to erupt. Faced with administrative censorship of certain news stories such as the arrivals from exile of opposition leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties, journalists there also struck. During the next few months, negotiations proved fruitless as positions became radicalized over the matter of news control.

Until the approval of the 1975 press law, legislation governing the media was in limbo. The Armed Forces Movement program authorized the ruling Junta of National Salvation to appoint an ad-hoc commission to "avoid perturbations of public opinion caused by very reactionary ideological aggressions."[42] The commission was composed of seven officers of the Armed Forces Movement, including Ramalho Eanes, who in 1982 was Portugal's president. During its tenure, the commission intervened in press affairs 41 times, mostly imposing light fines (although *Comercio do Funchal* was suspended for 30 days). Most of its actions were taken against extremist publications such as the Maoist *Luta Popular,* and rightist, religious publications such as *Ave Maria, A Voz de Fatima* and *Mensageiro Paroquial.* The latter, a regional newspaper, was suspended for 20 days after publishing an article headlined, "The Rosary Beads Saved Austria," in which Portugal was compared to Austria under Soviet occupation. Another publication, *Seia Catolica,* also was suspended for publishing an article with the same title.[43]

The official party newspaper of the Salazarist regime, *Epoca,* was never to go to press again, although a group of journalists tried without success to start *Nova Epoca.* No new dailies appeared in 1974, but the newsstands had little room to display the motley and strident partisan press that flourished with new-found political liberty. By mid-May, the long-clandestine Communist Party organ *Avante* was being read in cafes and factories. The Socialist Party printed its *Portugal Socialista,* while extreme leftist parties had their organs: *Poder Popular* (Socialist Left Movement), *Fronteira* (League of Revolutionary Union and Action) and the tireless *Luta Popular* (Reorganizing Movement of the Proletariats' Party), to name just a few of more than 20 leftist newspapers.[44]

After the nomination of Colonel Vasco Goncalves as Prime Minister in July 1974 and the forced resignation of General Antonio Spinola as President following an abortive rightist plot in September, the political balance swung ever noticeably leftward. At an October meeting of the Journalists' Union a resolution called for "newspaper workers' control of the orientation, supervision and determination of newspaper content" through the Conselhos de Redaccao as "a minimum condition to guarantee information at the service of the interests of the working classes capable of limiting the power of capital over the press."[45] New people were named as editors. At *O Seculo* workers elected new administrators in December, then replaced them in February 1975 and named a journalist as director. But, above all, March 11, 1975, became a landmark date: with the flight of Spinola to Spain and the defeat of rightist elements in the military, the pro-communist and leftist military factions became increasingly powerful. Banks, insurance companies, and many other key sectors of the economy were nationalized as socialism became the declared societal goal.

With the nationalization of the banks, many newspapers became government-owned: *Diario Popular, Jornal do Comercio, A Capital, O Comercio do Porto, O Seculo* and, in part, *Diario de Lisboa.*[46] Again, new administrators and editors were named. In late March, workers occupied the then-silent newsrooms of *Diario do Norte* (former organ of the Accao Nacional Popular) to put the paper "at the service of the workers."

In the coined expression of the feverish period, a "revolutionary process was in course" in Portugal. The general cultural climate proclaimed, "Socialism is good and capitalism evil." The humble proletariat became mythical, for no one could criticize the workers. Perhaps no quotation best characterizes the spirit and tone of those hectic days as the observation of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the powerful military security unit known as COPCON: "The workers are always right."

On the verge of what would be a "hot summer" in which the clouds of conflict and even the specter of civil war loomed over the horizon, the Journalists' Union approved in late April 1975 a document that clearly showed how journalists themselves had become engaged in the increasingly open battle for power. It also illustrated the weight of Leninist theories of the press in professional circles. An excerpt from the document read:

> Newspapers should be defined as organs of anti-fascist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist *combat*, intransigently on the side of the interests and struggles of laborers, workers, peasants, popular masses and the exploited.[47]

The influence of Leninist theories can be explained, in part, by the fact that many new people entered the profession after the 1974 coup. In 1975 alone, 157 new journalists obtained their press credentials; of today's

1,600 journalists, 1,000 entered the profession after 1974.[48]

In July 1975 the Socialist Party pulled out of the coalition government and declared open war against the ever-growing communist hegemony and the swift movement toward "people's power." But open conflict had already erupted in the media back in May, attracting much international attention. *Republica* and Radio Renascenca were the main headline-grabbers.

One of the first disputes discussed by the Press Council, created by the Press Law passed in February, was the demand by the owners of *Republica* that the law be obeyed. In open violation of the law, the majority of the newspaper's workers, supported by two of the 17 staff journalists, occupied the paper, demanding the ouster of director Raul Rego. The workers accused the director and editorial staff of slanting the paper's news stories, columns, and editorials in favor of the Socialist Party; they demanded that the newspaper be independent and "at the service of workers." At the heart of the conflict was the question of who should determine the editorial policy of the newspaper. The *Republica* workers openly criticized the legitimacy of the newly approved Press Law, which clearly stated (Article 19, Point C) that the director set policy and that he was to be appointed by the paper's owner. Since *Republica*'s owners, composed of numerous Socialist Party members such as leader Mario Soares, had never withdrawn their support of Rego, the workers had blatantly violated the law. When the Press Council ruled that the law had indeed been violated (but had no power to enforce it), the workers issued a communique that again clearly conveys the tone of the times: "The proclaimed violations of the Press Law can only honor and dignify us . . . in our own eyes and *in the eyes of the Revolution.*"[49]

In the wee hours of the day after the occupation, with socialist leader Mario Soares and his supporters standing outside in drizzling rain and chanting, "This is not Siberia," the building was evacuated, the doors were sealed with wax, and the case was brought to court. But, with the revolution in full swing, "revolutionary legitimacy" was holy — above all for the increasingly radical COPCON unit led by Carvalho. In late June, with the support of COPCON, the doors of *Republica* were unsealed, and, amid general confusion, the workers gained control of the newspaper. With the nomination of a new administrative commission on July 10 by the all-military Revolutionary Council (created after the March 11 abortive rightist coup), the die was cast, and soon *Republica*, "at the service of workers," hit the newsstands. Raul Rego and his deposed staff started their own newspaper in late August; it was called *A Luta* (the struggle).[50]

Eight days after the outbreak of the *Republica* affair, the Catholic station, Radio Renascenca, was occupied by workers equally inspired by the popular power thesis. None of the major political parties, including the Communist Party, supported the takeover. The government also con-

demned the action but was powerless to impose order, again because of support given workers by military factions, particularly COPCON. In June rival street demonstrators supporting workers and the church clashed outside the cardinal's residence in Lisbon. The hot summer was beginning to scorch.

By mid-summer Radio Renascenca's northern station in Oporto discontinued its support of the occupation in Lisbon, where transmissions were limited to the greater Lisbon area. Father Eloy Pinho, who currently guarantees the religious orthodoxy of programming for the northern branch of Radio Renascenca, recalls that hectic past: "We did not agree with the occupation and started doing our own programming in the North. The people in the northern and central parts of the country gave us full support."[51]

Oporto's newspapers joined what Father Pinho termed "the anti-putsch." "The people had been polarized by the radicals," he said. "The people got up and took to the streets, feeling that Radio Renascenca was Catholic — it was ours, not the communists'. We were the voice of the people, who wanted to be free. While all the other newspapers and radio and television stations were occupied by the communists and other leftists, Radio Renascenca became an island in the country."[52]

On July 13 the first of a number of Communist Party headquarters was ransacked in the town of Rio Maior in a growing attack that spread throughout the country. The Socialist Party mobilized forces against the Communist Party in a series of massive demonstrations. The two major Lisbon dailies, *Diario de Noticias* and *O Seculo,* had become vanguards of the revolutionary process. Communist and leftist influence predominated in other state-owned dailies, such as *A Capital, Diario Popular* and *Diario de Lisboa.* Radio stations were also privileged disseminators of revolutionary fervor. Even Sunday morning programming included discussions of Cuba's progress toward socialism. The recently appointed president of Emissora Nacional (then the only state-owned radio station) declared upon taking office: "Yes, we will use music as an agglutinating vehicle that can help immensely in maintaining the revolutionary flame well-lit."[53] From the very beginning of the revolution the other principal radio station, Radio-Clube Portugues, was managed by workers, and it generally identified with positions close to the Communist Party. Television did not escape the revolutionary fervor, with newscasts heavily centered on workers' occupations of factories and farmland.

While communist media influence verged on hegemony, it was by no means complete. As noted, the radical people's power forces held positions in Radio Renascenca and *Republica.* The three Oporto-based dailies, however, escaped communist domination. And new newspapers appeared, notably the innovative *Jornal Novo* and Raul Rego's *A Luta.* But, above all, a new, significant feature of the Portuguese press was the

development of influential weeklies. The independent *Expresso* became must reading for those intent on keeping abreast of the fast-paced political scene. It was joined in May 1975 by two new weeklies: the independent left *O Jornal,* started by a handful of experienced journalists in a cooperative operation somewhat similar to that of France's *Le Monde,* and the center-right *Tempo,* founded by Nuno Rocha. A number of other, more conservative publications, such as *O Diabo* and *O Sol,* were begun in a no-holds-barred dogfight that was to convulse Portugal in a quick succession of dramatic events in the autumn of 1975. In July 1975, the national news agency, Agencia Noticiosa Portuguesa (ANOP), was created; it was heavily influenced by communists.

With the forced resignation of Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves — the declared objective of the socialist series of mass demonstrations — a more moderate government, led by the so-called "admiral without fear," Pinheiro de Azevedo, faced strident opposition from radicals and other forces identified with the Communist Party. On the September day when members of the Sixth Provisional Government took office representatives of two of the principal radio stations and eight newspapers warned the government that "both Radio Renascenca and *Republica* are conquests of the popular masses and as such cannot be negotiated, nor serve the bourgeoisie once again."[54] Workers opposed workers at the important Lisbon morning daily, *O Seculo*; journalists critical of the sharp Leninist line tried to force the resignation of director Adelino Tavares da Silva. Days later, however, they found themselves suspended from employment by a general assembly of workers, and the newspaper continued publication with linotypist Francisco Lopes Cardoso as the new director.

Within government, workers demanded the suspension of the Secretary of State for Social Communication, accusing him of ties to the former regime's secret police. Sensitive to the continued occupation of Radio Renascenca, the government, endeavoring to preserve order, closed the station. Mass street demonstrations, led by the popular power forces, mobilized partisans who urged COPCON military head Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho to make his "class option." The station was occupied again and workers filled the airwaves with calls for revolutionary vigor. On November 7, in a show of force, the government ordered the bombing of the transmitting equipment and thus effectively silenced the station. On November 13 communist-led construction workers, demanding wage hikes, encircled the Parliament building and held the Prime Minister a virtual captive until their demands were met. Twelve days later, open military conflict erupted between rival military factions, with some casualties. The outcome was a clear defeat for the radical elements: the 25th of November became the cold shower that dissipated the revolutionary heat.

With order restored within the military, the Sixth Provisional Govern-

ment moved to neutralize both radical and communist influences within the media. In late December, Radio Renascenca was returned to the Catholic Church. Key personnel were replaced in the state-owned newspapers and radio and television stations. The radical daily, *Republica*, continued to publish for a while before government economic restraints forced workers to stop publication. New publications appeared. two Lisbon morning dailies of opposite political colors, the arch-conservative *O Dia* and the pro-communist *O Diario*; two weeklies, the conservative *O Pais* and the more analytical left-leaning *A Gazeta da Semana*. In 1976 a number of the former *Republica* newspeople started another radical daily called *Pagina Um*, but it lasted for only a short time. Four other Lisbon dailies were published in 1976, but they have also disappeared: *Jornal do Comercio, O Seculo, A Luta* and *Jornal Nova*.[55] The government also tried to reduce increasingly drastic economic deficits by fusing four state-owned newspapers into two separate public companies. *O Seculo* ceased publication.

The economic condition of the media worsened. Despite substantial circulation increases in 1974 and especially in 1975, the revenue produced did not compensate for a 60 percent drop in advertising revenue between May 1974 and March 1975.[56] In addition, production costs skyrocketed. The price of newsprint doubled in two years, and personnel costs also went up sharply as underpaid journalists demanded and received pay increases.[57] In 1983 the average salary for a journalist was about 27,000 escudos (approximately US$300) per month, compared to 11,000 escudos (about US$275) in 1974.[58] The cost of living, however, had risen at an even sharper rate. In real terms, the historic pattern of an underpaid, and thus diminished, occupation continued. Indeed many Portuguese media professionals have been unemployed, with others working two jobs, and about 10 percent employed under short-term contracts.[59]

The economic weakness of the Portuguese media and of journalists themselves is exacerbated by a profession that has been historically "ill-treated."[60] In a land in which university degrees carry high social prestige that could compensate somewhat for thin salaries, only in recent years has the percentage of journalists with a university education risen substantially. Today 18 percent of Portuguese unionized journalists have university degrees, and 75 percent have high school diplomas.[61] Few have received specialized training in journalism or mass communication. Certainly the two-generation-old habits of government and police arbitrariness have not contributed to basic respect for the profession.

Thus, underpaid and lacking prestige, journalists have had to rely on a business that is itself economically weak and increasingly dependent upon government aid. In 1975 government subsidies to the state-owned press alone totaled 65 million escudos (about US$1.3 million); this aid increased to more than 85 million escudos (about US$1.7 million) during the first six

months of 1976.[62] One press account put the 1980 accumulated liabilities of Portuguese state-owned radio (RDP) at the equivalent of US$40 million and the annual deficit at US$6.6 million. Portuguese television (RTP) estimated its 1980 losses in excess of US$13.3 million.[63] The state-owned national news agency (ANOP) was 71 percent dependent upon government funding for its 1980 operations.[64] Indeed this would be its Achilles heel in 1982, when the center-right coalition government attempted to destroy the agency in the most recent political battle involving Portuguese media.

Arons de Carvalho called for the "degovernmentalization" of the nomination of media managers as one remedy to reduce outside political intervention and increased professional autonomy.[65] Another path appears almost as imperative for the print media: increased circulations to reduce economic dependence. Statistics clearly show that print circulations have declined since 1976 and that the total circulation of all publications dropped 20 percent between 1971 and 1980.[66] The number of all publications also decreased from 1,196 (in 1971) to 1,069 (in 1980), representing an 11 percent decline.[67]

These same statistics underline the even greater crisis of the regional press; in Portugal's 18 administrative districts the percentage decline in publications during the past decade has been between 26 percent and, in one district, 50 percent. Only two districts, Lisbon and Setubal, have verified increases in the number of publications.[68] Certainly spiraling production costs help to explain this serious drop; in particular, spectacular hikes in postal rates have devastated many small, rural publications. In 1974 alone it was estimated that the monthly cost of mailing 5,000 newspaper copies soared from 3,750 escudos to 90,000 escudos.[69] Post-1974 developments seem to have aggravated the historic separation of the press from the rural population. This situation merited the attention of only a few persons at the recent Journalists' Congress, but one participant did put his finger on the problem with the observation that, "The press is still an urban and coastal phenomenon. The rural country practically doesn't read newspapers."[70] A recent survey disclosed that, overall, only 18 percent of Portugal's people read a newspaper daily, whereas 36 percent listen to radio and 59 percent view television each day.[71] Such figures reflect underconsumption of all of these media by Western European and American standards.

Newspapers and Magazines

Portuguese newspapers represent an anomaly. On the one hand, strong political, economic and cultural factors, the latter including an ideological coloring of much of the news, keep the press apart from the Western European and Anglo-American traditions of a free independent

press. On the other hand constitutional guarantees of the free flow of information, coupled with an ethics code and statute and a broadly decentralized system of controls, ensure that the press can be an important force in strengthening Portugal's young democratic regime.

After the military coup of 1974, sweeping changes transformed the face of the press. An analysis of Portuguese newspapers and magazines today, based upon personal observations; interviews with newspaper editors, reporters, and other media personnel; and a search into the meager scholarly and journalistic documentation reveals the following key characteristics:[72]

1. Government control of five daily newspapers representing almost 50 percent of the reported total circulation of the daily press.[73]

2. Government grants to all newspapers, both private and state-affiliated, of an amount based on circulation, thus disproportionately strengthening the state-owned newspapers already financed by the government.[74]

3. The emergence since 1975 of three influential, privately owned Lisbon weeklies, *Expresso, O Jornal* and *Tempo,* that fill a gap created by the absence of newsmagazines in Portugal.

4. Financial weakness of most newspapers caused by low circulation, excessive competition, heavy printing costs, and inflation.

5. Slowness in introducing modern technology, such as computerized typesetting systems, because of poor revenue and labor union resistance.[75]

6. A readership limited to urban, educated and middle- to upper-class citizens, caused by illiteracy in rural areas and the legacy of decades of cultural deprivation of the people under the Salazar-Caetano regimes.

7. Despite low readership, the widespread perception that the news media play an influential role in forming political and economic policies.

8. The politicization of most newspapers through government appointment of many newspaper directors or political party support.

9. A long tradition of editorializing in the news columns, in which the press has been a prime weapon in political combat, as seen throughout the Nineteenth Century, during the First Republic (1910-1926) and, most recently, after the 1974 revolution.

10. Notable communist and socialist orientation of journalists motivated by the general cultural climate stemming from the revolution and the entry of many new journalists and governmentally appointed media managers (especially in 1975 when the Communist Party held significant influence in government), as well as protective labor laws making it difficult to dismiss an employee.

11. The small supply of trained journalists caused by the near-absence of journalism education programs.

12. A long tradition of low salaries and equally low social prestige of

professionals, compounded by decades of arbitrary government.

13. The widespread belief of the political left that state control of the press is preferable to a purely capitalist system.[76]

14. Theoretically decentralized control of newspaper operations through a) a constitutionally authorized system including a national Press Council (Conselho de Imprensa), b) individual boards of directors governing the operations of each of the news media, c) a journalist-elected Editorial Council (Conselho de Redaccao) in each news medium, playing an advisory role in the appointment of editor-directors and with a voice in monitoring press freedom and pluralism, and d) a Ministry of Mass Communication (Comunicacao Social) providing governmental oversight.[77] (Such a system may be regarded as only theoretically decentralized because, in fact, the government directly appoints the supervisory boards of state-owned newspapers and exerts undue economic influence over all the papers.)

15. Specific constitutional guarantees of free access to official sources of information, professional confidentiality, freedom of publication, competition, and the independence of the professional journalist.[78]

16. Constitutional limitations to press freedom designed only to protect a) individual citizens through a "right of rebuttal" and b) "organs of the State" through punishment for unlawful attack on democratic institutions susceptible of jeopardizing democratic order, as well as for slander or threats against public officials.[79]

17. A deontological code approved by the Journalists Union in 1976 requiring that journalists, among other actions, shall maintain the confidentiality of journalistic sources of information, fight against any internal or external forms of censorship, distinguish between news and commentary, correct published errors rapidly, defend the journalist's right that signed articles be published only with the author's consent, maintain public confidence in the integrity and dignity of the journalistic profession, and contribute to the formation of a civic capacity of the Portuguese people.[80]

18. A degree of enforcement of this code of ethics by the 1,500-member Journalists Union through its legal power of accreditation, the issuance of professional identity cards and the authority to reprimand journalists for violations.[81]

Listed in Table 1 are 21 leading Portuguese newspapers. They consist of nine dailies published in Lisbon and four in Oporto as well as the three most influential weekly newspapers, and five other weeklies.[82] Even though Portugal is small (about the size of the state of South Carolina), transportation difficulties make newspaper distribution — especially in rural areas — difficult, and none is considered a truly national newspaper. Oporto's *Jornal de Noticias* and Lisbon's *Diario de Noticias* enjoy the largest circulation among the dailies. Table 2 lists the leading newspapers that are the official voices of political parties and four sports

tri-weeklies, one (*A Bola*) with the largest circulation of any newspaper. Table 1 also reveals the wide range of political orientation as well as the fact that undoubtedly too many papers compete for too small an available readership and advertising market. (The Lisbon metropolitan area has a population of approximately one million and the Oporto metropolitan area about one-half million.)

The government's uneven intrusion into the newspaper marketplace constitutes the principal problem of the Portuguese dailies. "The private newspapers receive a government grant for printing costs, according to circulation, but the state-owned papers also receive the same grant," Nuno Rocha, publisher of *O Tempo* and *O Globo*, explained.[83] In addition the state-owned papers receive nonreimbursable subsidies to cover the constant financial deficiencies of most of the papers.[84]

Jorge Braga de Macedo, assistant professor of economics and international affairs at Princeton University, recently conducted empirical research into the relationship between the newspaper market structure and "information policies working to preserve a free press, political democracy, and the traditional link between the two."[85] Wrote Macedo:

> The size and composition of the Portuguese newspaper market is such that a substantial decline in the number of newspapers is necessary for equilibrium to be reached and sustained. Behind the unstable situation of the last ten years in terms of the demand for news and advertisement, explained in large part by more explicitly heterogeneous reading preferences and the stagnating economic environment, there is a tendency for newspapers with small circulation to disappear. Given the link between newspapers and democracy, this may be a cause for concern. Nevertheless, the principal problem of the Portuguese newspaper has been the erratic policy of government subsidies which — while it has not prevented temporary entry — has artificially slowed down the exploitation of economies of scale.[86]

Macedo said that "keeping state-owned newspapers insulated from the natural economies of scale of the market" has made it extremely difficult for newcomers and the industry to operate efficiently and to compete with other media.[87] In this regard, it can be noted that newspapers in 1980 divided the Portuguese equivalent of only about US$5.7 million in advertising revenues among themselves, whereas television claimed about US$19.8 million and radio about US$8.5 million (US$4.7 million for Catholic radio and US$3.8 million for state-owned radio).[88]

The government faces a quandary, according to Macedo, because "the budgetary cost of the subsidies to the state-owned press make it impossible for the government to design schemes that could lower sunk costs and also subsidize private newspapers facing a rigid demand by small groups (their supporters)." As a consequence, he added, "the decline in the number of newspapers may well be excessive, thus lowering collective economic and political welfare."[89]

Rocha, former chairman of the Portuguese Committee of the International Press Institute, has urged that the state-owned newspapers be

TABLE 1

Portugal's Leading Newspapers*

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation	Circulation
Expresso	Lisbon	Saturday	Private	Most prestigious weekly. Social-democratic editorial policy. Read by "opinion makers."	77,000
O Jornal	Lisbon	Friday	Private	Journalist-owned weekly. Independent socialist line.	82,000
O Tempo	Lisbon	Thursday	Private	Center-right weekly. Highly controversial.	65,300**
Jornal de Noticias	Oporto	A.M., daily	State-intervened (state controlled)	Nation's largest-circulation daily. Independent approach. Moderate socialist orientation.	81,000
Diario de Noticias	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Public	Leading Lisbon daily. Independent approach. Moderate orientation.	58,000
Correio de Manha	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Less political news, but general right-center line.	40,000
O Diario	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Semi-official Communist Party orientation.	43,000
O Dia	Lisbon	A.M., daily	Private	Arch-conservative.	47,000
O Comercio do Porto	Oporto	A.M., daily	State-intervened (controversy over control)	Conservative orientation.	51,000
O Primeiro de Janeiro	Oporto	A.M., daily	Private	Conservative orientation.	40,000
A Capital	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Public	Center. Editor a strong personality.	40,000
Diario Popular	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Public	Moderate socialist editorial direction, with strong leftist staff influence.	53,000
Diario de Lisboa	Lisbon	P.M., daily	State-intervened (privately controlled)	Staff divided between independent left and pro-communist groups.	43,000
O Globo	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Private	Owned by Nuno Rocha group. Center-right.	20,000

A Tarde	Lisbon	P.M., daily	Private	Center-right. Heavy on political analysis.	25,000
Noticias da Tarde	Oporto	P.M., daily	State-intervened (state-controlled)	Jornal de Noticias afternoon paper started in 1982.	10,000
O Diabo	Oporto-Lisbon	Tuesday	Private	Rightist; anti-communist. Leading conservative political commentator on staff.	50,000
Sete	Lisbon	Wednesday	Private	Emphasis on cultural events. Published by O Jornal.	80,000
Tal & Qual	Lisbon	Saturday	Private	Tabloid. Socialist orientation.	40,000
O Pais	Lisbon	Friday	Private	Center-right. Occasional support of socialist line.	45,000
O Semanario	Lisbon	Saturday	Private	Center-right.	70,000

*These are the newspapers available on Portuguese newsstands in January 1984. Ownership is divided into three categories: 1) private (no state ownership of capital); public (100 percent state-ownership); and 3) state-intervened (capital owned by both state and private shareholders). Circulation figures were collected by the authors from figures published periodically by newspapers. Exceptions are Correio da Manha and O Dia, which have not published circulation figures (those presented here are general estimates). No company audits newspaper circulations in Portugal, as in some other countries.

**This is the same circulation figure provided by the paper for the past four years.

TABLE 2
Other Portugal Newspapers

Name	City	When Published	Ownership	Orientation	Circulation*
A Bola	Lisbon	Monday, Thursday, Saturday	Private	Sports. Country's widest-circulating newspaper. Commentary reveals clear leftist political orientation.	160,000
O Record	Lisbon	Tuesday, Thursday, Sunday	Private	Sports.	50,000
Gazeta dos Desportos	Oporto	Three issues per week	Private	Sports.	25,000
Povo Livre	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Social-Democratic Party (PSD).	N.A.
Portugal Socialista	Lisbon	Monthly	Private	Official voice of Socialist Party (SP).	N.A.
Avante	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Communist Party (PCP).	N.A.
Accao Socialista	Lisbon	Weekly	Private	Official voice of Socialist Party (SP).	N.A.

*These are estimated circulation figures based on periodic reports in the newspapers. No company audits newspaper circulations in Portugal, as in some other countries.

turned over to cooperatives, including membership by the employees themselves, and that government support of all newspapers be increased.[90]

Unshackled by heavy investment in printing presses and other production equipment, with an accompanying freedom from union restrictions and large payrolls, three Lisbon offset weeklies have developed since 1975 into highly influential and profitable newspapers. The left *O Jornal*, the center *Expresso* and the center-right *O Tempo* compete head-on for readership by urban, educated citizens comprising a broad section of western Portugal extending from the Algarve in the deep south through Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto to Braga in the north. Their estimated circulations are in the 60,000-80,000 range. *Expresso*, published each Saturday, is the oldest, having been founded on January 6, 1973, by a group of 10 journalists headed by Francisco Pinto Balsemao. The group gained capitalization by selling 40 percent of its stock to a bank. The weekly has grown steadily through three periods, the first during pre-revolution censorship and the second and third marked by Balsemao's entry into government service.[91]

Editorial decisions at *Expresso* are made largely by consensus. "The heads of our departments are called organizers, not editors," reporter Jose Judice said. "On the foreign desk, there is no discussion. On the sports and economics desks, others enter into the discussion. All of us participate in a Monday morning meeting with the advertising staff. The chief news editor moderates this meeting. At 7 p.m. each Friday decisions are made concerning page one." Free-lance writers contribute about 40 percent of the copy. There is one full-time correspondent in New York City. Others free-lance in Paris, London, Bonn, Rome, Madrid and Moscow, and in Brazil and the Azores. They are paid per article, but are considered permanent and report only for *Expresso*. Press association reports are provided by ANOP, Reuters, Associated Press and Panorama (Italy), augmented by services from the London *Observer* and *Newsweek* magazine in the United States.

O Jornal, published each Friday, was established May 1, 1975, by a group of 15 journalists, now mostly 30-45 years of age. "We had worked together under the old system," said the associate editor, Manuel Beca Murias. "We thoroughly enjoyed the absence of censorship in 1974, but by the middle of 1975 we saw political control present in the reporting of state matters in the media. Journalists were shifted about six times. Asking ourselves what to do, we decided to organize so as to work without being compelled to follow a particular party line."[92] The founding group consisted of two graphics people who had returned from exile in London, one photographer and 12 generalists. "Not one escudo was available," Murias continued. "We tried to incorporate, but could not. The newsprint suppliers wanted cash in two weeks. Advertising prospects were low. We

convinced a small publishing company to help. We finally signed a contract, receiving 40 percent of the business in return for capital but under an agreement that we would be entirely responsible for editorial content, fully in command. With only 40 percent of the shares in the corporation, we protected ourselves in many ways."

Capitalization consisted of only about 300,000 escudos (then the equivalent of approximately US$150,000). No salaries were paid during the first six months. "However, we were an immediate success — something fresh," Murias remarked. In November 1975, as the political process moved away from a Western-style democracy, circulation peaked at 135,000, but then dropped to 30,000, almost forcing the company out of existence in August 1976. *O Jornal* survived that crisis, and in early 1982 the journalists purchased all of the remaining shares.

O Jornal's policy, according to Murias, is to maintain the smallest possible operation, with the least possible fixed expense. Only about 120 persons, including 25 journalists, are on the payroll of the newspaper and its offshoot, the show business weekly *Sete*. "We have kept together during all the political changes because we placed professionalism first and politics second," Murias said. "Everything is decided by consensus. The staff is publicly elected by the shareholders for one year, and they may be re-elected. The news editor is elected by all of the reporters and editors. The assistant news editors are appointed by the editor." Full-time correspondents are maintained in Oporto and Paris, with part-time correspondents providing about one article each week from London, Brussels, New York, Bonn and Madrid. *O Jornal* publishes from four to six pages of international news and comment each week.

O Tempo, published each Thursday, was founded in 1975 by editor-publisher Nuno Rocha. Rocha said the newspaper sold 150,000 copies in its third week of operation.[23] "But every newspaper plant was raided," Rocha said. "Ours was the first to start up after the communists lost power. We have been bombed three times; we kept going." The company also publishes the monthly *Tempo Documentos*, the weekly *Tempo Medicina* and two other publications, *Publituris* (for tourism) and *Equipa Hotel*. The firm owns a photocomposition plant and a subsidiary company. Rocha also owns shares in the Lisbon morning daily, *Correio de Manha*, and recently started an afternoon paper, *O Globo*, that reaches the newsstands before its rivals and is sold for less (15 escudos compared to rivals' 20 escudos). Approximately 500 persons work on these publications, in comparison with about 1,050 employed by the leading Lisbon daily, *Diario de Noticias*. Fifty-five persons are employed by *O Tempo*, and there are about 20 foreign correspondents. Rocha has upgraded the paper's technology with the addition of video display terminals for use in the advertising and business departments, as well as a Datasaab terminal to handle invoices.

Not only are these three weeklies influential in Portugal but they also are sold on newsstands in some cities of France, where an estimated one million Portuguese reside.[94] As previously pointed out, they fill a vacuum created by the absence of newsmagazines in Portugal. One recent attempt to establish a newsmagazine, *Opcao*, did not reach its third anniversary. The lack of newsmagazines is symptomatic of a general weakness of magazines in Portugal. Beyond two traditionally oriented women's magazines, *Cronica Feminina* (estimated circulation, 220,000) and *Maria* (150,000), and the weekly television guide *TV Guia* (140,000), a few fluctuate between 30,000 and 50,000 in circulation, but most do not reach even 15,000.

The 1974 wind of freedom did not just bring *Playboy* and more risque publications to Portugal. (An early attempt to make money with a Portuguese centerfold imitation of *Playboy* attracted little interest and failed.) It also swept away old titles, and few magazines in Portugal today have been in existence for more than five years. Two newcomers to the women's press are *Ela* and the feminist monthly *Mulheres*. Both *TV Guia* and the smaller-circulating *TvTop* have appeared in the last few years. Even the more luxuriant and necessarily more expensive picture magazines high on social gossip, *Nova Gente* and *Mais*, are novices. The weekly *Mais* was started in 1982 and it, like most other magazines, has yet to prove it will be a newsstand fixture. Newcomers of note are the weekly *Jornal da B.D.*,[95] dedicated to comics, and the monthly *Espaco Reporter* (10,000 circulation). A tourist industry-oriented monthly magazine, *Espaco T*, continues to publish, but recently dropped its English and French versions.[96]

In contrast with the small-staffed weekly newspapers housed in old quarters, Lisbon's oldest daily, *Diario de Noticias*, a letterpress publication, occupies a large, modern building on the city's principal downtown boulevard. Although state-owned, its editorial orientation, under respected Mario Mesquita, is considered independent and moderate. "I have complete editorial freedom; I am my only censor," Mesquita said.[97]

Diario de Noticias, founded in 1865, is heavily unionized. Despite some union objections, it is beginning to acquire video display terminals, used first in the advertising department. The paper is a newspaper of record, regularly reporting such bulletin board items as airlines and shipping schedules, the location and telephone numbers of emergency operations and other public announcements. The pages are standard-sized. Its news stories are more objective in nature than those in most other Portuguese dailies. Its conservative appearance also contrasts sharply with that of most other Lisbon dailies, many of which crowd their pages with a jumble of stories and headlines and make heavy use of color.

When its long-time rival *O Seculo* ceased publication in 1976, the morning *Diario de Noticias* was challenged only by the highly political *O Diario*

and *O Dia* until *Correio da Manha* appeared on March 19, 1979. Started with a nucleus of journalists recently unemployed due to the closure of the morning daily, *A Luta* (last issue dated January 7, 1979), *Correio da Manha* brought a breath of fresh air by simply giving readers a heavy dose of combat journalism (characterized by the strident promotion of causes) and giving readers a heavy dose of something other than politics. It plays up crime and human interest stories, often relegating the Prime Minister's speeches to inside pages. It is a highly diversified newspaper with sections on such hobbies as stamp collecting and shortwave radio and with crossword puzzles. The newspaper's motto, "a different way of informing," exemplifies its desire to break with the general homogeneity of the press.[98] But content is just one of *Correio da Manha*'s innovations. The newspaper has an active public relations policy complete with stickers for taxicabs and the sponsorship of many contests, including the 1982 edition of the Miss Portugal pageant. There is one other important innovation: the newspaper turns a profit.

Started about 40 years ago to challenge the then-dominant *Diario de Lisboa*, *Diario Popular* is Lisbon's leading afternoon daily, but circulation has dropped substantially from its January 1974 high of 130,000. It is the first newspaper to make public its circulation, printing its average circulation during the preceding month and the circulation of that day exactly one year previously. Some dailies do not dare to mention circulation figures, past or present; the practice is illegal but it continues.

Heavily identified with left currents during the revolutionary bath, *Diario Popular* has softened its aggressive course but still remains politically left and independent from any political party. It has a comparatively large staff of 52 newspeople (compared to *A Capital*'s 30) that is organized much like most other Portuguese dailies:[99] 1) Director, 2) Assistant Director, 3) Chief Editor, 4) Assistant Editor, 5) Staff Secretary (organizes agenda), 6) Departments (two to five newspeople each) for International, National Politics, Economy, Social (Labor, Information, Education), City, Regional and Sports, 7) Photographers (five) and 8) Support Staff (includes archives).

Diario Popular is one of three public enterprises. Its capital is owned entirely by the government and its operations are governed by a specific law and by statutes (passed in 1979). The newspaper's administrative body is the Conselho de Gerencia (governing council), headed by a president appointed by the government. It is this council that nominates the newspaper's director and assistant director after hearing the *opinion* of the Conselho de Redaccao (newspeople's staff council). But the 1975 press law specifically declares that the nomination of a newspaper director needs the approval of the paper's journalist council, whereas, according to the conflicting statutes, the approval of the newspeople's staff council is *not* necessary — an unusual limitation of this latter council's power in

the public newspapers. This is important because the current director of *Diario Popular* was appointed in 1980 over the opposition of the newspaper's news staff in what journalists deemed an illegal appointment according to the press law. The government argued that the nomination was not illegal precisely because the statutes governing public newspapers do not convey a veto power to the newspeople's staff council.

Unlike most of the press, the prestigious *Diario de Lisboa* has largely maintained its identity over the years. Despite the repression under the Salazarist regime, it tried its best to express opposition opinions, even if they were ladled in between the lines. It also has maintained its director, Antonio Ruella Ramos, who has outlasted all the political turbulence of past years and is proud to be the dean of newspaper directors. *Diario de Lisboa* is one of Portugal's *intervened* newspapers. With the nationalization of the banks in 1975, part of its capital became state-owned but the majority remained privately owned. "I have complete freedom of expression," Ramos said, "but as director I must read all the copy and tone down some comment. I am the only censor of the paper." Generally identified as sympathetic to the Communist Party line, Ramos said the newspaper had faced a number of libel suits, but that none has been won in the courts.[100]

In Oporto, two center-right dailies, *O Premeiro de Janeiro* and *O Comercio do Porto*, and one socialist-oriented daily, *Jornal de Noticias*, compete for readership among the largely conservative population in the northern part of Portugal. *O Premeiro de Janeiro* got its name from a revolution by Oporto merchants protesting taxation, beginning on January 1, 1869. It began publication the following December as *Janeiro's Revolucao*, but soon changed its name. The newspaper is constructing a new building, converting its production process entirely to photocomposition, and aiming for a bright future for Portugal and itself. "In Portugal there is too much of a 'fado,' 'destiny,' 'looking-back-with-anger' type of thinking," the editor, Feytor Pinto, exclaimed. "The past is the past. Even the older journalists are coming around to this type of thinking. We go from one six-month stage to another in our planning and execution. We seek stabilization, even to create a new image — a new rightist image."[101] The government's spokesperson handling relations with the foreign press under the old regime, Pinto fled to Spain in 1974, remaining in exile there for six years. Returning, he accepted appointment as editor-director of *O Premeiro de Janeiro* and immediately faced credibility and recruiting problems. Other newspapers raided the paper for talent. After almost 250 persons applied for the openings, Pinto hired eight new journalists, including one with a Ph.D. degree and another with a degree emphasizing mass communication.

Founded in 1854, *O Comercio do Porto* is the oldest newspaper in Portugal. It is one of the *intervened* newspapers, with the state owning 45 percent of the capital, 40 percent belonging to private sources and 15 per-

cent the property of the newspaper itself. Despite the confusion as to ownership, Editor Joaquim Queiroz affirmed his independence. "We have complete freedom of operation, with no undue influence from any quarter," he declared. Asked if the newspaper would criticize the Prime Minister, Queiroz replied: "We have done it; if we want to be free, we must do so." Five libel suits were filed against the paper in 1975, but none since.[102] The editor said *O Comercio do Porto* was the first Portuguese newspaper to begin using photocomposition, with thin plates placed on the presses. Already, a second-generation on-line computer system has been installed for video display terminals, used in producing advertising copy.

Another state-intervened daily is *Jornal de Noticias.* Since July 1978, the newspaper has enjoyed the reputation of being Portugal's largest-selling daily ("500,000 people read our paper"). It occupies all seven stories of one of the few modern newspaper buildings in Portugal. There are about 500 employees, most of them unionized. A representative of Editor Alberto de Carvalho said that about 45 video display terminals are in use, primarily in advertising. "We have had only minor problems with the unions in the introduction of this equipment," he said.[103] In a determined effort to become *the* national newspaper, copies are transported daily by truck to Lisbon and other cities. "We are going to conquer Portugal when we overcome our technological problems," the official said. "Portugal needs a strong morning newspaper." The official said "there is absolutely no censorship" of the newspaper. "Our paper has two faces — one political, the other news," he remarked. "We need to improve our political aspect."

Except for its location near Coimbra University, *Diario de Coimbra,* a poorly printed, tabloid-sized newspaper of approximately 10,000 circulation, is typical of the famished regional press. The editor, Lino Vinhal, explained several problems faced by his and other newspapers:

> The newspaper situation is bad. Fifty percent of the circulation is in the main cities. Only about 40 percent of the people can read — there is no tradition of reading in the country. In Coimbra, the circulation of all papers is only 8,000. Considering that Coimbra has a population of 100,000, this represents a readership of only 8 percent in the city.[104]

Vinhal said television cannot be blamed because "reading was no better before it came along two decades ago." He continued: "Portugal does not yet have good journalism because we are not close enough to the public, to the country's basic power. Our newspapers are too political — to the right, to the left. It is difficult to find a paper that is not left or right. But a few are independent and seeking the truth."

Vinhal's remarks highlight an imperative for Portugal's young democracy and the newspaper industry: cultivate basic education, especially the art and the habit of reading. At a recent Journalists' Con-

gress in Lisbon, one journalist condemned the homogeneity of the press' content and its elitist language:

> It is time for the profession to direct itself less to those circles in which journalists move about and become more preoccupied with that segment of the population that cannot decipher the news it receives. We are still producing a press that is rejected by a large part of the people who could read it.[105]

Certainly the success of the show business weekly *Sete* (80,000 circulation) and particularly the tri-weekly sports newspaper *Bola* (160,000 circulation) indicates that Portuguese newspapers might well increase their circulation if they offered a more attractive product and simpler language. Certainly the historic lack of professional journalistic education accounts for widespread insensitivity to a common law in journalism: write so even the milkman can read and understand it.

Press Associations

Portugal started 1982 with one news agency, Agencia Noticiosa Portuguesa (ANOP), and by the end of the year had another, Noticias de Portugal (NP), in the latest example of crude government handling of the media. ANOP was created in 1975 to replace the old Agencia National de Informacao (ANI), which was privately owned but intimately tied to the Salazarist dictatorship. ANI and another, smaller agency, Lusitania, had been acquired by the government in 1974. By 1978, ANOP's statute was approved by Parliament, specifying it as a public enterprise.[106] Under the statute, the government directly appoints a three-to-five-member administrative board (Conselho de Gerencia) that selects the editor-in-chief and also recommends money allocations, in the form of government subsidies, for the agency. The board can be dismissed at will by the government (Article 9-2).

Under the measure, the board's nomination of the editor-in-chief (director of information) must be submitted for approval by a seven-member Council of Journalists, elected by ANOP newspeople. This provision was made in the wake of the appointment in 1976 of a director with no background in journalism. The council's voice was heard in the rejection of a proposed editor in late 1981. A workers' commission, comprised of all ANOP employees, also examines nominations. The commission oversees internal matters concerning the budget and fiscal policies and exercises the right of access to documents. The commission's power in regard to editor nominations, however, is limited to recommendations.

The agency formerly received dispatches from a number of press associations: United Press International, Associated Press, Reuters (added in 1981, ending years of direct service by the British agency to Portuguese newspapers and broadcast stations), DPA (West Germany),

EFE (Spain), Tass and Hsin-Hua (New China News Agency), as well as the national news agencies of Mozambique, Bulgaria, Morocco, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Romania, Iran, Hungary, Poland and Cuba. Agence France-Presse distributes directly to its Portuguese clients.

Of the agency's 118 journalists,[107] approximately 80 to 85 serve in Lisbon and the others on bureau staffs or as part-time stringers elsewhere in Portugal and abroad, including Madrid, London, Paris, Brussels, Bonn, Geneva, New York, Tunis, Cape Verde, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Macau, Kuwait, Sao Paolo, Caracas, Rome, Barcelona, Belgrade and Bucharest. There are four news desks: 1) Portuguese, distributing news domestically; 2) Africa, serving the former colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique; 3) the Portuguese press abroad, which receives two daily bulletins except for one daily filing distributed in Brazil through United Press International; and 4) news in English and French, sent to some foreign newspapers, certain embassies in Lisbon, the Arab countries and Eastern Europe. The staff has language expertise in English, Spanish, French and German.[108] The latest available statistics fixed the number of ANOP clients at 158.[109]

Theoretically, the government does not interfere in news operations, said Jose Manuel Barroso, former director of information for ANOP, operations, and it usually does not. But, he added, this depends upon the editor-in-chief because, according to law, only the editor has the power to determine the content of the news.[110] Because the sale of news, including that of ANOP's economic service, both in Portugal and abroad, has been insufficient to meet expenses, the government must provide 70 percent of the agency's income. The total sum of government subsidies had skyrocketed since 1975, going from the Portuguese equivalent of about US$40,000 to the 1981 high of US$1.8 million.[111] While inflation accounts for part of the sharp rise, the ranks at ANOP have swelled to 259 employees — 47 percent of whom are providing administrative and technical support.[112] The consequences of such heavy economic dependence on government were underlined by Barroso:

> The government always has the power to pressure the administrative board and indicate the direction that the news should take. But I must say that during the last five years the agency has been really independent of government in its handling of the news.
>
> We need, however, to move a stop further from government control. We would like for ANOP to be a cooperative run by the press, but that would be difficult because the Portuguese press does not have enough money to support such a system. So, what more and more Portuguese journalists feel is that a new step could be applied. We need a more balanced system — an operation owned by the state *and* by the press, a kind of system like that governing Agence France Press.

Only a few months later, the center-right government, led by former journalist Francisco Pinto Balsemao, moved in that direction. On July 27, 1982, the formation of a news agency cooperative was announced,

although no name had yet been given to the agency. Two days later, the government unceremoniously announced in a laconic communique that ANOP would be closed and would cease its functions immediately and that the government would sign an agreement with the new cooperative that existed only on paper. ANOP's Conselho de Gerencia resigned. For months the government had economically strangled ANOP by refusing to grant subsidies to pay salaries, and ANOP defaulted in payments to its foreign clients such as United Press International. In 1982 ANOP owed UPI about US$2 million.[113]

Secretary of State for Social Communication Jose Alfaia sought to justify the closing of ANOP with the observation that it was overstaffed and a heavy money-loser. Moreover he presented the action as a move away from government control of news.[114] At the recent Journalists' Congress a member of ANOP's Conselho de Redaccao rebutted Alfaia's arguments and held the government responsible for overstaffing.[115] Antunes said the government-appointed administration, headed by Valy Mamede, had increased administrative personnel by 60 since 1980 and had created several departments of little economic rationale. He pointed out that ANOP journalists in 1981 had demanded a complete accounting of how ANOP's money was being spent. Antunes concluded:

> During the past two years, the agency has endured unfit and absurd mismanagement. The government's responsibility for the degradation of the company should be made clear: first, for appointing incompetent managers; second, for approving job placements, now charging the agency is overstaffed.

Despite general opposition to the government's attempt to extinguish ANOP, even from within the government, Alfaia marched forward on his personal crusade. He stood alone before Parliament to defend his policy and presented his resignation when no other member of government showed up that day to support him. Prime Minister Balsemao refused to accept the resignation and reiterated his support of Alfaia's policy. The International Press Institute sent a telegram to Balsemao declaring, "Your policy supports a media independent from government, which is the basis for a free press."[116]

In late September, ANOP's newly appointed administrative board announced the collective firing of 147 of the agency's 259 staff members. Under the cloud of imminent unemployment and with seemingly no hope of government funding to pay salaries, many ANOP journalists began to abandon a sinking ship. Attracted by higher salaries, some of ANOP's best journalists joined the new agency, NP, which began operations November 2, 1982. All foreign news agencies, except EFE (Spain), broke contracts with ANOP to sign with NP. The agency had an estimated first-year budget of the Portuguese equivalent of approximately US$2,142,000.[117]

Critics of the ANOP closure questioned whether the new agency would be entirely free from government control since the majority of NP's board of directors would be representatives of state-controlled communications organizations. In addition the new agency would still be very much dependent upon government money. Although no subsidies were envisioned, the government planned to purchase the agency's services; indeed it provided the agency with the financial security that it had always denied ANOP by signing an agreement guaranteeing the annual payment of 140 million escudos (about US$1.5 million) for 1983 *and* 1984.[118]

The situation remained unresolved in the spring of 1983; both news agencies were operating in fierce competition awaiting the arrival of a new government fresh from the results of previously unscheduled parliamentary elections. But the prognosis seemed bleak for ANOP journalists, completely dependent upon government funding and thus extremely vulnerable. ANOP seemed to be fading from existence. For many months ANOP workers had not known whether they would ever be paid; some were taking accumulated leave; and some of those who remained were seeking employment elsewhere.

In January 1984, however, the government announced that it would maintain *both* ANOP and NP, with the promise that they would be given equal treatment. Because of ANOP's poor budgetary situation, additional staff reductions would take place. The government would seek a new statute providing that ANOP be operated much like Agence France-Press, with both the government and participating media organizations overseeing operations and the government supporting the agency financially. Given Portugal's budgetary woes, however, it remained problematical whether both ANOP and NP could be long maintained.

Radio

Portugal's first station (Radio Hertz) began broadcasting in 1914. More than 20 privately owned stations, including the staff-owned Radio-Clube Portugues (1928), blossomed before the creation of the state-controlled Emissora Nacional in 1935. The Catholic Church realized the importance of radio and went on the air with Radio Renascenca in 1938. Today only two major station operators survive: the Catholic Church and the state.

Portuguese radio has undergone several changes since the 1974 revolution. Throughout the revolutionary period, radio was heavily dominated by communist and other leftist forces. Radio Renascenca was occupied by radicals and became one of the prime centers of the political battle. After the November 1975 defeat of the leftist military factions, the Sixth Provisional Government returned Radio Renascenca to the church. It also nationalized radio (except for the Catholic station and two small operations), thus creating a single public enterprise known as EPR.[119] In 1976 the call

letters became RDP — Radiodifusao Portuguesa.[120]

The American listener, accustomed to innumerable choices, likely would find Portuguese radio boring. Scanning both the AM and FM bands, a Lisbon listener would find only five programs on the following stations: RDP-Antenna One (same programming on AM and FM); RDP-Program Two (separate programming, but identical on its AM and FM bands); RDP-Radio Comercial (separate programs on AM and FM); and Radio Renascenca (same programs on AM and FM, with slight regional differences on the latter).

The Council for Social Communication, whose members are elected by a two-thirds majority vote of Parliament, supervises government radio. Until 1982 each station's operations had been managed by a five-member Administrative Council with full powers under Article 25 of the statutes. The council president and one other member were appointed by the government; the vice-president and still another member were nominated by a general assembly "composed of representatives of public users"; and the fifth member was elected by RDP workers themselves.[121] The council set budgets and selected the director of each station. The law required the council to guarantee "ideological pluralism" and financial honesty, but the body actually had little power to influence day-to-day operations and, in fact, was too partisan itself properly to exercise its role.[122]

In an attempt to reduce huge operating deficits, an economic plan was put into effect in 1982. It called for government loans, increased advertising and the effective collection of a tax of approximately US$36 on every radio set in the country. Under this tax system, inaugurated in 1936, Portuguese are asked to declare their sets annually; fines are levied for those found with sets on which the tax has not been paid. The financial plan also called for a reduction in the 1982 staff of more than 2,000 workers.

RDP-Antenna One is the prototype of public service radio. It transmits non-specialized and diversified programs containing information of possible use to the listener. Three of seven production units supervise each of the morning, afternoon and evening program periods; there are separate production units for religious, musical, sports and field programs.

Antenna One offers about 25 news programs daily. The 104 journalists are divided into two major groups. The central staff produces specialized news material based on news agency bulletins, copy from correspondents, and full-time reports and stories carried on broadcasts from other countries. The second group, the continuing service staff, is divided into five units. One produces the hourly news bulletins and the others the four major news broadcasts at 7 a.m., 1 p.m., 7 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. An editor and associate editors supervise the entire operation.

Morning programming on Antenna One consists mainly of light music, talk and general information. The programming becomes more regional

in the afternoon. Various types of musical programs are offered in the evening. Antenna One broadcasts 24 hours daily and also provides a shortwave service to the Azores. A broad range of cultural and informational programs also is transmitted via shortwave, in Portuguese, to other European countries, Africa, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Macau, Timor, Australia, India, Venezuela and the Middle East. Other programs in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian are sent to other European countries; in English to India, the Middle East, Africa, the United States and Canada; in French to India, the Middle East and Africa; and in Spanish to South America.

RDP-Antenna One covers 100 percent of the country with its AM broadcasts and 51 percent with its FM broadcasts. By contrast, *RDP-Program Two* reaches only 37 percent of the nation with its AM broadcasts and 67 percent with its FM programming. Program Two has only two transmitting stations for AM and eight for FM; this compares to Antenna One's 20 AM and 14 FM transmitting stations.[123] RDP-Program Two broadcasts 17 hours daily. Its FM broadcasts are stereophonic. Program Two is the "high-brow" station, with a heavy diet of classical music.

Since its inception in 1979 the real success story of Portuguese radio has been *RDP-Radio Comercial.* In 1979 RDP faced an enormous deficit of 590 million escudoes, the equivalent of more than US$1 million. Increased commercial time was seen as the most immediate remedy for these economic ills. So RDP-Radio Comercial was created and, as its name suggests, economic self-reliance through advertising revenue was the objective. In 1981 RDP-Radio Comercial showed a 20-million-escudo profit, slightly more than US$200,000. This was a great contrast to the continuing deficit position of RDP as a whole.[124]

Just like its rival, the church-controlled, privately owned Radio Renascenca, Radio Comercial presents many programs produced by independent firms. It makes a pitch for youthful listeners. For example, during the summer of 1982 Radio Comercial sponsored, with the Pepsi Cola Company, a series of rock "battle of the bands" competitions. The station adopted aggressive American-style station-identification spots. It introduced programs that were new in Portugal, such as the late-evening "Passenger of the Night" program — a talk show during which listeners discuss with the show's host all types of personal and public problems. Because of its nontraditional nature, the show has drawn much media attention and controversy. In addition, a nightly "Coffee Concert" program presents a guest each week who answers telephoned questions. Above all, Radio Comercial offers a heavy dose of rock music and blues and country musical recordings.

According to 1980 audience polls, the ratings of Radio Comercial outdistanced those of the more far-reaching Antenna One by 6 percent, holding 34 percent of the radio audience.[125] Using nine AM and 14 FM

transmitting stations, Radio Comercial covers 77 percent of the country with its AM broadcasts and 49 percent with its FM broadcasts. In 1982 the station began broadcasting 24 hours daily.

Radio Comercial's audience is young; polls show that 65 percent of the audience consists of persons below 44 years of age. The audience also is slightly more female than male and more heavily concentrated in the greater Lisbon area and southern Portugal. By contrast, Antenna One's audience is older, reaching especially those from 35 to 44 years of age and those 55 years old and older. Geographically Antenna One's weak areas are greater Oporto and the northern districts.[126]

The other major network operating throughout Portugal is Radio Renascenca (RR). Broadcasting on three AM and 16 FM transmitters, Radio Renascenca offers listeners a moderate dose of religious programming along with music, public affairs programs, and a great many commercials. AM transmitting power was increased ten-fold in 1979, and in 1981 Radio Renascenca began shortwave broadcasts that reach France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, both West and East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Denmark, as well as parts of Great Britain, Poland, Norway and Italy. The two hours of shortwave transmissions are to be supplemented soon by programs beamed to the eastern United States, particularly New England.[127]

The Catholic Church provides no funds for Radio Renascenca operations. All necessary operating income comes from commercials obtained through the advertising agency Intervoz and monetary gifts by the Friends of Radio Renascenca (Liga de Amigos da Radio Renascenca).[128] A three-member managing council appointed by the church bishops sets policy and appoints directors of business, programming, news and technical operations; one member of the council is the commercial manager. Fifty-five percent of the bishops controlling the network are members of the Diocese of Lisbon; the others represent the National Council of Bishops.

Two priests, who in 1982 were Father Eloy Pinho in the North and Father Rocha e Melo in the South, guarantee the religious orthodoxy of the programming. "The church presence lies in the selection criteria for the staff and in the special treatment given in accordance with general criteria respecting the truth of the news," Torgal Ferreira, a member of the RR executive board, said during an interview in Lisbon.[129]

News bulletins are provided by the Portuguese press associations, correspondents in principal cities of the world and the station's news staff. Twenty-five journalists in Lisbon and five in Oporto, aided by part-time correspondents, cover events within Portugal. Two minutes of editorial opinion precede the news programs at 7:30 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. daily. Said Ferreira:

There is a great preoccupation to be impartial — a great effort made to distinguish between news and opinion. The public considers information on Radio Renascenca to be much more independent than the information provided on the government stations, mainly because of the influence of political parties, through individual journalists, on the government's stations. The latter respond to the changes in government.

Certainly in 1983 radio in Portugal is at its age of maturity as a mass medium. Television, with its remarkable advances in the late 1970s and early 1980s, undoubtedly has replaced radio as the most influential medium, but radio still reigns supreme in terms of diffusion among the people. According to RDP data of 1978, 83.5 percent of the Portuguese population possesses one or more radio sets, as compared with 66.3 percent with television sets. Radio is extremely well-implanted in all regions of the country and at all ages and levels of the social ladder.[130] According to 1980 radio audience studies, 40 percent of Portuguese more than 15 years of age listen to radio at least once a day. Radio consumption is greatest in the urban areas of Lisbon and Oporto and along the Atlantic coast, and weakest in the interior. Throughout the week and on weekends as well, radio listenership is greatest at lunchtime, mostly between 1 p.m. and 1:30 p.m., when major news programs are aired. Overall, more men than women listen to radio.[131]

TABLE 3

Percentage Share of Radio Audience*

Area	RDP-1	RDP-2	RDP-RC	RDP Total	RR
G. Lisbon	23.2	3.2	49.3	70.3	29.7
G. Oporto	17.4	5.0	27.5	46.9	53.1
Coast	23.3	4.5	33.0	57.6	42.4
Int. North	30.5	5.5	20.7	54.9	45.1
Int. South	48.8	3.4	34.8	74.8	25.2
Nationally	26.7	4.3	33.9	61.0	39.0

*Source: RDP-GEP (Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento), Audiencia e Opiniao — Ano 1980.

Altogether the state-controlled RDP has more listeners than the church-controlled Radio Renascenca everywhere except in the greater Oporto area. RDP's superiority is clear in the greater Lisbon area and in the South. (See Table 3.) Individually, Portugal's leading radio station is Radio Renascenca, clearly dominating each of the others in greater Oporto and the northern interior. Among public stations, RDP-Radio Comercial has a greater audience than RDP-Antenna One. RDP-Program Two, with its classical music, has a much-reduced audience. RDP-Radio Comercial is greater Lisbon's No. 1 choice. RDP-Antenna One clearly leads the others in southern Portugal.

The ratification of a basic law for radio broadcasting was anticipated by early 1984. No general, all-encompassing law concerning radio has been passed since the revolution. A proposal recently presented in Parliament by the Communist Party envisioned ending the virtual state monopoly of radio, but political instability precluded debate on the issue. Although a few "pirate" (non-authorized) broadcasts have been heard in recent years, nothing has yet occurred in Portugal rivaling the late-1970s outbreak of illegal stations elsewhere in Europe, particularly in Italy.

Television

Portuguese television has been state controlled since its inception, and Article 38-7 of the 1976 Constitution expressly states that television cannot be privately owned. The government entered the television business in 1955. Regular broadcasting began in 1957 after a half-dozen other European countries instituted television programming. Politicians from the old regime in Portugal established the station. Drawing on state funds, public subscriptions and aid from private radio stations, they accumulated US$2.5 million capitalization for the enterprise. Because of the small capitalization, Radiotelevisao Portuguesa became more and more dependent upon government subsidies.

Salazar perceived television as one of the major problems with which his government had to cope. "He did not like to have television in Portugal," former station president Soares Louro said. "When (U.S.) President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, I wrote the dispatch, and we were the first in Europe to broadcast the news. Salazar wanted to know how television could move so quickly. Gradually, he became very much interested in television, considering that it had become a permanent institution."[132]

With the revolution of April 25, 1974, Portuguese television came under the total control of the successive governments and has remained a public service since. Effective control is maintained in two ways: 1) through government subsidies, which augment a steadily growing income from commercials, and 2) through the direct appointment of the RTP president by the government.

The Television Law, passed on November 29, 1979, expressly states that programming should respect "ideological pluralism, insuring free expression and confrontation of different currents of opinion and guaranteeing objective information."[133] But accusations of political manipulation of television have been constant over the years. At the recent Journalists' Congress, one participant underlined this problem and its effect on the Conselhos de Redaccao (newspeoples' staffs), whose deliberations are merely advisory, as in other public enterprises: "The Conselhos de Redaccao have faced growing obstacles in their activities. At RDP and at

RTP, journalists elected to the conselhos have confronted situations of harassment."[134] In Parliament, a "white paper" was presented in 1982 alleging continued violations of the law through the practice of promoting products in Portuguese-produced programs; the recent and only Portuguese soap opera, "Vila Faia," was cited as one example.[135]

The government has been lavish in its support of Radiotelevisao Portuguesa. In Lisbon hundreds of employees work in a new eight-story building in the northern part of the city and in several older but spacious structures on a hill farther east. Even so, a former movie house has been acquired to augment the studios. Engineering, programming, production, educational and administrative offices possess the latest models of equipment anywhere. Archivists use both card files and a computer for the documentation and rapid recall of tape and film needed for news and other programs. Videotape is processed in the station's laboratories. A staff of 187 people (up 83 percent from 1977 figures) is employed in the news and information division, some constituting highly mobile teams that use the latest electronic newsgathering and transmission equipment.[136] Signals are sent to a tower north of the city for transmission throughout Portugal.

The Oporto division of RTP covers activities in the northern half of the country. Signals are fed to the Lisbon base for incorporation into the total programming. Oporto employees are housed in a spacious new building atop a hill on the northeastern outskirts of the city. The station has its own doctor, a large swimming pool, and an employees' restaurant with a magnificent view of the valley and rolling hills to the north.

In both Lisbon and Oporto, news is received on teletype machines linked to the Portuguese news agency, to Agence France Press and, significantly, to the Secretary of State for Information. Correspondents are maintained separately for RTP1 and RTP2 in London, Madrid, Rome, Moscow, Paris, Brussels, Geneva and Jerusalem.[137]

Largely because a system of mass communication education has not yet been developed in the Portuguese universities, an ambitious educational program has been created within RTP itself. The Department of Education occupies one floor and half of two other floors in the eight-story Lisbon building. A curriculum of approximately 40 courses of varying length is offered for present and incoming employees. These range from the technical (such as video and audio operation, special effects, animation, lighting) to the professional (news reporting, interviewing) to general education (a seminar dealing with political science, constitutional law, world institutions and contemporary history).[138]

Television has fascinated the Portuguese, just as it has people in most other countries. Indeed television became a truly mass medium by the late 1970s. The number of registered television sets mushroomed from nearly 400,000 in 1970 to almost 1.4 million in 1980, an increase of more

than 250 percent.[139] Because of high energy costs, the two government television stations (Channel One, operating on very high frequency, and Channel Two, started in 1968, on ultra high frequency) broadcast only seven hours on weekdays, but longer on Saturdays and Sundays. Color television was introduced in 1980. In 1982 Channel One began morning broadcasts and Channel Two started a teletext service — the most recent displays of television's continued expansion in Portugal.

The most popular programs are television series produced in the United States, such as "Dallas" and "Hill Street Blues" (called "The Ballad of Hill Street" in Portugal). Ranking next in popularity are movies from the United States, England, France, Italy, and occasionally other countries. Subtitles are added in Portuguese; there is no dubbing of voices. Sports attractions, mostly soccer matches, and Brazilian telenovellas (soap operas) are highly popular. The novellas, in Portuguese, are shown during prime time and are so popular that many movie houses interrupt their films with intermissions so that those attending may view the programs on sets in the foyer.

The long-running "Telejornal" news program begins about 8 p.m. after most of the late-working populace has returned home. Frequently, however, the program is delayed by the presentations of various ministers of government, who demand often lengthy periods of time to present the government's viewpoint about strikes, economics, finances and sundry other matters. According to Article 40 of the 1976 Constitution, political parties and labor and professional organizations are guaranteed air time according to the size of their constituency. For example, under the "direito de antena" (Article 17 of the 1979 Television Law) requirement, the Communist Party was allotted 15 minutes of prime time on Channel One on February 8, 1982. During elections, equal time for all parties is guaranteed, and the policy is rigidly followed.

In addition to "Telejornal," there are other news programs, often also including interviews with political leaders, and debates. "Talking heads" (newscasters reading copy) predominate. There is substantial video coverage of events throughout the nation as well as Eurovision satellite feeds of news elsewhere in the world. Most of the domestic news is covered by teams operating from the principal studios in Lisbon and Oporto. Visits by television crews to rural areas in Portugal do occur, but critics have accused Portuguese television of restricting television cameras too often to the VIP room at the Lisbon Airport. The 1982 visit to Portugal by Pope John Paul the Second was ceremoniously covered by crews who followed the Pope everywhere. Yet, when an attempt to assassinate the Pope took place in Fatima, RTP demonstrated little journalistic initiative, making only a brief reference to the occurrence and then signing off until the next morning.

Taped musical shows featuring celebrities in France, Italy, Brazil and a

few other countries are popular. Partly because of the weakness of the Portuguese film industry, few domestic dramas are presented, although the television stations tape their own productions from time to time. Movies represent 14 percent of television programs; most are foreign films. Home-grown talent, including comedians, singers, dancers, and musical groups, displayed their wares on a popular Saturday night show, "Sabadabadu" (play on the word "sabado," Portuguese for Saturday), and a four-hour Sunday afternoon variety show, "Bom Dia Domingo" ("Good Day, Sunday"). A winsome Italian-imported mouse puppet, "Topo Gigio," was the star of a Sunday night show that put children to bed. These popular shows were off the air by 1983 — another curious feature of Portuguese television. It seems that all shows are condemned to be axed; there is no long-running Portuguese television program on the air.

Commercials extolling the virtues of cosmetics, soaps, and sundry other items are shown periodically in clusters of perhaps eight or 10. Some are only five seconds in duration, others 15 seconds, and a few longer. The brevity and the frequently poor production qualities of the commercials reflect both the depressed economy and the relatively high cost of broadcast time. According to Article 11 of the 1979 Television Law, no more than eight minutes of commercials may be given each broadcast hour.

The government signed a financial agreement with RTP in 1980 to redress a worsening deficit that totaled US$4 million for 1979 alone, with an accumulated deficit of 800,000,000 escudos (nearly US$9 million).[140] Under the direction of a newly appointed president, lawyer Daniel Proenca de Carvalho, the financial situation of the public enterprise has improved, with sharp increases in advertising revenues and television tax receipts, respectively, of US$12 million and US$9 million in 1980.[141]

The expansion of television has also brought a sharp increase in personnel employed by RTP, up 34 percent between 1977 and 1980. The additions were made mostly in administrative positions. In 1980 RTP employed 2,115 people, broken down in the following percentages: administrative, 31; support, 8; information, 8; programs, 14; operational, 23; technical, 13; health, 1; and traffic, 3.[142]

The influence on the traditional Portuguese value system of such American television series as "Dallas" has been the focus of considerable controversy. Scores of employees demonstrated outside the RTP building in March 1982, protesting the influence of such imported programs and also the continuing influence of the Portuguese government on news and information presented by the station. Objections to the perceived immoral influence of programs such as "Dallas" and Portuguese shows such as "Sabadabadu," the latter in a cabaret setting, constitute part of the reason that the Catholic Church in 1982 petitioned the government for permission to establish its own television station, which would be the first

such private operation in the country. Tergal Ferreira, a member of the executive board of Radio Renascenca, said:

> We do not have exclusively a religious motivation in wanting to establish this station; there is a moral motivation as well. The government television station is engaged, to some extent, in immoral programming. Some of our Portuguese traditional values are being attacked by materialistic propaganda. I speak of such areas as abortion, divorce and free love, which are propagated not only by imported films and videotapes but by some of our own productions as well, like 'Sabadabadu.' Shows like 'Dallas' represent American pollution.[143]

RTP President Proenca de Carvalho, who has since resigned, strongly defended the station's programming:

> I hope that those responsible for the church project will, in fact, be able to respect Portuguese values. But, as our recent history shows, the station will not be able to impose its own views to any considerable extent. The reaction of the people to 'Sabadabadu' was positive. There are some conservative people who consider such programming inappropriate. They are a special class of people perhaps divorced from the population in general.[144]

Proenca de Carvalho said he was seeking to have programs produced that are "less heavy, much lighter" than many of those previously offered, so that they would be more acceptable to the public. "This is the American approach to television," he said. "In contrast, throughout Europe some elitists have pushed production in a way not favorably received by the viewing public." He pointed to ratings — an innovation in Portuguese television instituted by Proenca de Carvalho — that indicate the high popularity of shows such as "Dallas."

Both Proenca de Carvalho and his Socialist Party predecessor, Soares Louro, agree that the national television station must become more independent and more neutral in the political orientation of its news and information programs. Soares said flatly, "It is time for the government to end its influence."[145] Proenca de Carvalho, however, expressed the belief that the answer lies in educating journalists "so that they will respect the true values of information — objectivity, respect for the truth, and independence — in order to make it unnecessary to apply internal discipline."

Economics also is a problem, Louro said, pointing out that in all of Europe only England, through the British Broadcasting Corporation with its strong financial resources, can effectively compete with American productions. "The American production system should be put to work in Portugal and in all the European capitals," Louro said. "We need to learn the language of TV and how to write for TV. We have very good fiction, but we don't know how to change it into television language." No schools have yet been established in Portugal showing creative people how to write for television, he observed. "Talking heads," backs to television cameras, unrealistic dialogue in many scripts — all these are just a few examples of

how the television medium, even after 25 years of experience, is still largely an unmastered art in Portugal.

Mass Communication Education

Education for mass communication is in its infancy in Portugal. The predominant view of faculties controlling the curricula of the long-established universities, steeped as they are in the classical European tradition of higher education, is that there is no place for a program of study preparing students for careers in mass communication. The absence of such a tradition, the poor economy and laws that make it difficult to discharge employees all provide scant encouragement for media managers to support such educational programs. In addition, salaries paid mass communicators are generally so low that comparatively few students seek to enter the field.[146]

Nevertheless a movement seeking to introduce mass communication study into the universities began in the late 1970s. It resulted in the establishment of a bachelor's degree in social communication (the Portuguese term for "mass communication") offered by the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the New University of Lisbon beginning with the academic year 1979-1980,[147] and the founding of a Department of Social Communication at Portuguese Catholic University in 1980.[148] About the same time, some mass communication study was begun at the University of Evora.[149]

Until recently media training in Portugal focused primarily on the Technical University of Lisbon, which offered a one-year course in the sociology of information, expanded recently into a bachelor's degree program; on a course at the Institution of New Professionals, also in Lisbon;[150] and on a comprehensive program of studies developed by the national RadioTelevisao Portugal (RTP).[151] Social communication also is a topic in the sociological and anthropological studies, respectively, at the University of Oporto[152] and Coimbra University.[153]

The New University of Lisbon is housed in an old army barracks, painted pink. There the first university degree program in mass communication was begun under the direction of Adriano Duarte Rodrigues. Rodrigues heads a faculty of 16 full-time and two part-time instructors and professors that includes working, professional journalists; leading intellectuals such as psychologist Maria Belo and lawyer Arons de Carvalho; and Manuel Lopes da Silva, who headed Catholic University's school when it was founded.

The program corresponds to the widely accepted American ratio of three parts of liberal arts courses and one part of communication courses. During the first year students take courses in introduction to sociology, introduction to economics, statistics for social sciences, theory and

methods in social sciences, and news writing and reporting. The second year consists of courses in introduction to anthropology, contemporary social and economic history, theory of communication, semiology, and advanced news writing and reporting. The third year calls for study in media law, sociology of social communication, media history, psychosociology, and semiology of written media. Fourth-year study of media management, political sociology, media technology, semiology of visual media, and the student's selection of cinema and television production, international law or comparative journalism, among other options, completes the program of study.[154]

Despite the current lack of typewriters (students write in longhand in class) and broadcast facilities, the department has been growing, and the first class was graduated in 1983. In 1984 the department will offer Portugal's first master's degree in social communication — a three-semester program and thesis. A research center has been created and a trimonthly publication begun. The department also offers mid-career educational programs for professionals.

The Department of Social Communication at Portuguese Catholic University was established through the combined efforts of the International Press Institute; the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Bonn, Germany; a group of leading newspaper, magazine and broadcast journalists; and government officials.[155] The Konrad Adenauer Foundation provided funds for construction of a building to house the school; included were faculty offices, large classrooms and a reading room. The founding director, Lopes da Silva, is an electrical engineer with a specialty in color television (he holds Portugal's No. 1 television engineering license and is still associated with RadioTelevisao Portugal), and he also is well educated in classical and contemporary studies. During the first year, classes, at night, drew approximately 20 students, most of whom worked during the day. They included working journalists, several economists and a military officer.[156]

The students begin with an introduction to contemporary history, political institutions, international relations, and language and communications. Next come history of the press, history of electrical communication, communication theory, and news theory. This is followed by text production, research techniques, and technology of information, with study in deontology, information organizations, and freedom of information rounding out the program.[157]

At the University of Evora, President Aric de Azevedo is seeking to advance education in mass communication by what he calls the "Trojan horse" method: inserting studies in the field into the curriculum of the Department of Rural Sociology.[158]

Portugal's economic plight has held funding for the development of its institutions of higher learning at a low level. Because of the numerous

political changes since 1974, government direction has been disorganized, further impeding the growth of university programs. Nevertheless the need for a greatly enhanced effort to provide a corps of well-educated, professional mass communicators is strongly perceived by the nation's political and media leaders, and the growth of education in the field seems inevitable.

Conclusion

This monograph has endeavored to explain how, and why, the Portuguese mass media constitute a frustrated Fourth Estate. State ownership of some media and the direct appointment of media managers in numerous other sectors have limited professional autonomy since Portugal's return to democracy in 1974. These have not been the only factors. Vestiges of the old society linger, characterized by hard-to-change habits and chronic problems.

Any discussion true to the traditions of Western journalism would underline the prime function of the media in informing and serving public opinion, essential in a democracy. In Portugal, however, the frustration of the media seems to be symptomatic of a deeper, broader frustration involving public opinion itself. The Portuguese for generations were denied the right to express their political opinions; worse, many of them — illiterate, poorly schooled and lacking a tradition of reading — were denied even the tools with which to formulate and express their opinions.

Today, as Portugal's media fend against intrusions into their professional autonomy by "O Poder," they must also contend with the albatross left by Salazar's "benign enlightenment." No revolutionary wand can be waved to heal that historic scar overnight. Instead the application of modern journalism's basic remedy, "Make it clear, and make it interesting," may alleviate some of the public's frustration. The oncoming generation of university-educated mass communicators — however small in number — may make its influence felt as well.

But the future has never appeared so bleak. The new majority coalition government, formed by the Socialist and Social Democratic parties into what has become known as the "central bloc," came to power in June 1983 and soon dashed hopes of a new era of respect for media independence. Some of the past mistakes of partisan intrusion in media activity that the Socialists vowed would not again take place have been repeated. One disillusioned commentator recently wrote: "The practice that the government has asserted with regard to the media has turned unrecognizable the democratic process that the Socialist Party promised voters, in general, and journalists, in particular."[159]

Media appointments have been dictated by the now-habitual practice of partisan-political allegiance to the detriment of professional competence.

The reshuffle of the top echelon at RTP was so blatantly partisan that the weekly newspaper *Expresso* called it "bi-color" television: journalists identified with (if not members of) the two coalition parties were named to top news positions in an egalitarian division of power.[160] Complicated negotiations over the nomination of new administrators for the state-owned RDP-Antenna One station have dragged on over months.

The recent election of members to the newly established Council for Social Communication was perhaps the most conclusive (and disheartening) demonstration of continued party infiltration.[161] According to the law, approved by Parliament in July 1983, the body is defined as an "independent organ" that will oversee the state-owned and intervened media "to guarantee their independence," and its 11 members "imbued with high moral authority" are to fulfill their functions with independence, neutrality, and a sense of mission.[162] Not all the "media magistrates," elected by a two-thirds vote of Parliament, seem to have the necessary independent background for such an impartial role. One member formerly directed public relations for a political party.

The most recent statistics (1982) show that only 16.1 percent of the Portuguese over 15 years of age read a newspaper regularly — down 2.2 percent in one year.[163] Declining readership and huge deficits are stigmas for most of the daily press; in 1982 the state-owned daily *Diario Popular* lost almost US$700,000.[164] The other two state-owned dailies, *Diario de Noticias* and *A Capital,* are on the verge of bankruptcy; for months journalists there have been paid in installments and with delays. The specter of unemployment looms large for many media professionals: any solution to the complex dilemma of two national news agencies seems inevitably destined to mean a loss of jobs, although the government has as yet not taken any action. Indeed governmental inaction has raised charges that Mario Soares' Socialist-led government has opted for the "economic asphyxiation" of the state-owned press.[165]

In contrast with the Spanish Socialist government's expansion policies of increased aid to the press and a three-fold budget increase for the Ministry of Culture, Portugal's present government has intransigently applied the rigor of austerity to all domains, including the press. Significantly Empresa Publica Noticias e Capital, responsible for *Diario de Noticias* and *A Capital,* both known for their independent editorial line, was the first state-owned business to be declared in a "difficult economic situation," thus permitting exceptional measures such as the firing of workers and compulsory retirement at 55 years of age. But both the firm's administration and its journalists have called for a comprehensive plan to restructure and vitalize the company; so far these demands have gone unanswered.

Certainly the economic weakness of Portuguese media and constant government intrusion into media autonomy have been plagues. Now

media professionals face a new threat: the serious limitation of constitutional and legal rights, as envisioned in a proposed new press law.

The proposal has stirred criticism from both the political right and left, with outcries that "the fascist laws never went so far."[166] The conservative Lisbon daily *A Tarde* commented: "The document . . . is one of the saddest in the history of Portuguese media: the sole objective of its 83 articles is to gag the press."[167]

The controversial proposal recognizes all the basic liberties of a democratic regime and explicitly prohibits censorship, but it introduces serious limitations of key rights of journalists. First the proposed law opens exceptions to the right of journalists to protect the identity of sources in criminal investigations and in acts against "national security." In the 1975 press law, the right to protect sources was absolute. Second the proposal imposes grave limitations on the right to inform and on journalists' access to information.

Restrictions on information about matters ranging from national security to public safety, to the defense of order and the prevention of crime, and to the protection of the good name of individuals — all constitute the "only limits" to the journalist's right to inform the public. Information about the activities of investigative committees of Parliament, to cite just one example, is circumscribed to only "official communiques." Indeed the publication of any information regarding "facts or documents" classified as secret or confidential "by a competent entity" is illegal, with penalties including imprisonment of up to 100 days for offenses. The objective is clear: to put an end to "leaks" of information.

The irony of history is cruel: those who denounced the *Republica* takeover and gained international fame in the name of an open society and a strong, vibrant press now propose a law suspicious of that very same free press and seemingly are intent on erecting a wall of silence between the people and their government. Perhaps the unanimous media criticism will forestall passage of the measure and fend off such future attempts to bridle the press.

NOTES

1. Miguel Sousa Tavares and Jose Manuel Barata Feyo, "Mea Culpa." Unpublished paper presented to the first Journalists' Congress, Lisbon, Portugal, Jan. 19-22, 1983, p. 1.
2. Alberto Arons de Carvalho, *A Censura e as Leis de Imprensa* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1973), p. 11. Carvalho's excellent book was used extensively to prepare this paper. Also see: Alberto Arons de Carvalho and A. Monteiro Cardoso, *Da Liberdade de Imprensa* (Lisbon: Editora Meridiano Ltd., 1971) and Norberto Lopes, *Visado pela censura* (Lisbon: Editora Aster, 1975).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-22.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-63.
6. The terminology introduced in the 1972 press law eliminated the bad-image word, "cut." The new terminology was "authorized," "authorized partially," "retained" and 'prohibited."

7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-71.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
10. Article 1 of Law No. 85-C/75, Feb. 26, 1975. The Journalists' Statutes were published as Law No. 62/79, Sept. 20, 1979.
11. Articles 37-40 of the 1976 Portuguese Constitution, revised in 1982.
12. Article 29 of the 1975 Press Law.
13. Articles 21 and 22 of the 1975 Press Law.
14. Article 17 of the 1975 Press Law, altered in Law No. 816-A/76, Nov. 10, 1976.
15. Article 38-7 of the 1976 Constitution, revised by two-thirds majority of Parliament, 1982.
16. *Legislacao da Comunicacao Social* (Coimbra, Portugal: Coimbra Editora, 1980), p. 149. These councils (one each for press, radio, television, news agency) were replaced in the 1982 revision of the Constitution by the Council for Social Communication (Article 39), composed of 11 members elected by a two-thirds majority of Parliament. The council has the objective of "assuring a general orientation that respects ideological pluralism."
17. Tavares and Feyo, *op. cit.*
18. Arons de Carvalho, "Informacao e Poder Politico." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 4.
19. Channel One operates on very high frequency (VHF), and Channel Two on ultra high frequency (UHF). The latter began a daytime teletext service in late 1982.
20. Silva Costa, "Crescimento quantitativo da informacao — condicao de democracia e desenvolvimento." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 3.
21. Jose Manuel Tengarrinha, *Historia da Imprensa Periodica Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1965), pp. 29-30.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 40. Another example of Portugal's lack of press growth is shown in the fact that the country's first daily, *Diario Lisbonense*, appeared in 1809.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 87. Almost 30 percent of the population is illiterate today.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241.
37. Jean Seaton and Ben Pimlott, "The Portuguese Media in Transition," in Kenneth Maxwell, ed., *The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 94.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
40. Arons de Carvalho, *A Censura, op. cit.*, pp. 173-176.
41. Seaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
42. Article 1 of Decree-Law No. 281-74, of June 20, 1974.
43. *A Imprensa Escrita em Portugal* (Lisbon: Emprenca Publica dos Jornais Noticias e Capital, 1979), pp. 157-177. Report of Press Council.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 58. (Emphasis added.)
48. Elisabete Franca and Guiomar Belo Marques, "O Acesso a Profissao de Jornalista." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 6. Women comprise 11.8 percent of today's unionized journalists, compared to 5.5 percent in 1976.

49. *A Imprensa, op. cit.*, p. 48. (Emphasis added.)

50. A careful reading of *Republica* during this period, from July on, strongly suggests that workers were ardent defenders of the "people's power" cause; i.e., heavily influenced by extreme left parties. This suggests that the *Republica* takeover was not a Communist Party operation, although newspapers dominated by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) generally supported the action. Some of the extreme left parties were, at times, highly critical of the PCP, although a brief alliance was formed in August 1975.

51. Personal communication, Oporto, Jan. 13, 1982.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Quoted in *Jornal Novo*, Dec. 4, 1975, p. 12.

54. The complete list: *Diario de Noticias, A Capital, Republica*, radio station Alfabeta, *Diario Popular, A Bola, Jornal do Comercio, O Seculo*, Emissora Nacional, Radio Renascenca and, surprisingly, *Expresso. A Imprensa, op. cit.*, p. 60.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

58. Antonio dos Santos, "As condicoes de trabalho dos jornalistas." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 4. The escudo has lost about three times its value since 1974.

59. Franca and Marques, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

60. Dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

61. Nicolau Santos, "Portugal: Como o Poder da Informacao Se Subordina a Informacao do Poder." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 8.

62. *A Imprensa, op. cit.*, p. 113.

63. Wallace Biggs, "The Intellectual and Institutional Main Currents in the Portuguese Media." Unpublished report prepared for the U.S. Embassy, Lisbon, 1981, p. 9. Biggs was an embassy press attache.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Arons de Carvalho, "Informacao e Poder Politico," *op. cit.*

66. Instituto Nacional de Estatistica, *Estatisticas da Educacao 1971* (Lisbon: Sociedade Tipografica, 1972) and the institute's data for 1980, still unpublished.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.* These statistics do not refer to the islands of the Azores and Madeira.

69. *A Imprensa, op. cit.*, p. 119.

70. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

71. *Diario de Noticias*, Feb. 24, 1983, p. 3.

72. Author Nelson Traquina, a U.S. citizen of Portuguese heritage, was present in Lisbon, undertaking a sociological study under a Fulbright grant, when the revolution broke out. The nature of his study was such that he could not complete it during those turbulent months, so he joined the staff of the United Press International bureau in the city. After two years' service, he moved to France, where he earned a Ph.D. degree at the University of Paris (Rene Descartes-Sorbonne). In January 1982 he assumed duties as an assistant professor in the Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon. Author Warren K. Agee conducted research into conditions affecting the Portuguese mass media during a three-month Fulbright assignment in 1982.

73. See Table 1. The government exercises 100 percent control over three newspapers, shown in the table as "public," under statutory authority. The government owns controlling stock in two other newspapers, designed as "state-intervened" in the table. As indicated, its control of a sixth newspaper has been the subject of a controversy. Table 1 does not refer to 10 small dailies published on the Azores and Madeira islands that are listed in the 1976 Press Council report. *A Imprensa, op. cit.*, p. 104.

74. *IPI Report* (International Press Institute), 29:3 (March 1981), pp. 1, 13.

75. Personal communication with editors or their representatives, and observation by the coauthors, during visits to Portuguese newspapers.

76. Antonio Ruella Ramos, "The Private and Nationalized Press in Portugal." Unpublished address prepared for delivery to the 34th Congress, International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), Madrid, Spain, May 22, 1981, p. 2.

77. The national Press Council (Conselho de Imprensa) is governed by terms of Article 17

of the 1975 Press Law, revised by Decree No. 816-A/76, of Nov. 10, 1976, and again by Decree No. 31/78, of July 20, 1978. The journalists' Editorial Council (Conselho de Redaccao) was established by Article 28-3 of the 1976 Constitution, revised by a two-thirds majority vote of Parliament in 1982.

78. Provided in Article 38-3 of the 1976 Constitution, revised in 1982, and Articles 4-8 and 10 of Decree No. 85-C/75, of Feb. 26, 1975, of the 1975 Press Law, altered by Decree No. 181/76, of March 9, 1976.

79. Articles 16 and 24-29 of the 1975 Press Law.

80. The code of ethics was approved by the Journalists' Union in 1976. Article 11 of the journalists' statutes refers to the ethical obligations of journalists.

81. Article 13 of the journalists' statutes.

82. Not included in this study are other, small-circulation, dailies including, on the continent: *Noticias de Evora*, Evora; *Diario do Minho* and *Correio do Minho*, Braga; and *Diario do Alentejo*, Beja; on Madeira, *Diario de Noticias* and *Jornal da Madeira*, Funchal; and in the Azores, *Diario dos Acores*, *Correio dos Acores*, and *Acores*, Port Delgada; *A Uniao* and *Diario Insular*, A. Heroismo; and *O Telegrafo* and *Correio da Horta*, Faial; nor the weekly, *Diario do Sul*, Evora. The weekly *Diario de Coimbra* is cited later in this section.

83. *IPI Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

84. Ramos, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

85. "Newspapers and Democracy in Portugal: The Role of Market Structure," in Kenneth Maxwell, ed., *The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *IPI Report*, *op. cit.*

89. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 84.

90. *Op. cit.*

91. Judice (personal communication), Lisbon, Feb. 3, 1982. Balsemao served as Prime Minister from 1981 to 1983. Judice also is editor of *Espaco T Magazine*, a tourist-oriented monthly. It is common practice for Portuguese journalists to hold more than one position simultaneously.

92. Murias (personal communication), Lisbon, Feb. 2, 1982.

93. Rocha (personal communication), Lisbon, March 22, 1982.

94. Murias, *op. cit.*

95. B.D. stands for "banda desenhada," the Portuguese term for comics and cartoons. Of course, Portuguese translations of most Walt Disney, Superman and even Marvel comics are available — usually Brazilian versions.

96. Nelson Morais, former staff member of *Espaco T Magazine*, (personal communication), Feb. 21, 1983.

97. Mesquita (personal communication), Lisbon, Jan. 8, 1982. In late 1983 the public company controlling *Diario de Noticias* and *A Capital* was declared to be in serious economic difficulty and measures were taken to reduce the number of employees and effect other economies. Mesquita criticized the action and expressed the opinion that the government was attempting to move the two papers into Socialist Party hands.

98. Antonio Maria Amorim Falcao, *"Correio da Manha — um Jornal Moderno."* Unpublished paper prepared for Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon, 1983.

99. Olga Ribeiro, *"Diario Popular."* Unpublished paper prepared for New University of Lisbon department, 1983.

100. Ramos (personal communication), Lisbon, Jan. 7, 1982.

101. Pinto (personal communication), Jan. 14, 1982.

102. Queiroz (personal communication), Jan. 13, 1982.

103. Representative of Carvalho (personal communication), Oporto, Jan. 12, 1982.

104. Vinhal (personal communication), Coimbra, Jan. 20, 1982.

105. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

106. Law No. 19/78, April 11, 1978.

107. New York *Times*, Aug. 22, 1982, p. 3.

108. Jose Manuel Barroso, former director of information for ANOP (personal communication), Feb. 18, 1982.

109. Luis Manuel Andrade de Sa, "ANOP." Unpublished paper prepared for Department of Social Communication, New University of Lisbon, 1982, p. 2.
110. Barroso, *op. cit.* Barroso has since joined NP.
111. Andrade, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
112. New York *Times*, *op. cit.*
113. Sandy Sloop, UPI bureau chief (personal communication), March 17, 1983.
114. Other possible reasons for the action are unclear. There is speculation that government officials wanted to remove leftist journalists and create an agency more in sympathy with the government prior to the December 1982 elections.
115. Jaime Antunes, "A Incompetencia e a Partidarizacao na Base da Destruicao da ANOP." Unpublished paper presented to Journalists' Congress.
116. *IPI Report*, 30: (September 1982), p. 4.
117. New York *Times*, *op. cit.*
118. Antunes, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
119. EPR stands for Empresa Publica de Radiodifusao. It encompassed the already state-controlled Emissora Nacional, Radio-Clube Portugues and its associated regional stations: Radio Ribatejo and Radio Alto Douro, Clube Radiofonico de Portugal, Radio Graca, Radio Peninsular, Emissores Associados de Lisboa, Radio Vos de Lisboa, Alfabeta-Radio e Publicidade, and J. Ferreira and Company. The three stations not nationalized were Radio Renascenca, Radio Altitude, and Radio Polo Norte (now called Radio Clube do Centro).
120. The foundation laid in 1976 was changed slightly in 1979. Facing heavy financial losses, RDP was reorganized as follows: Programs Three and Four were fused to form Radio Comercial; Program One became known as Antenna-One; and Program Two began broadcasts on AM.
121. The "public users" are: Parliament, national government, local government, unions, courts, the church and workers of RDP. All in theory. This system was never put into effect and all members of the administration have been and continue to be appointed by the government.
122. Article 39 of the 1976 Constitution, revised by Parliament in 1982.
123. Data provided by RDP.
124. Statistics provided by Radio Comercial.
125. RDP-GEP (Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento), *Audiencia e Opiniao; RDP 1978* (unnumbered) and *Audiencia e Opiniao — Ano 1980* (unnumbered).
126. *Ibid.*
127. Father Eloy Pinho, *op. cit.* (note 51).
128. *Ibid.*
129. Personal communication, March 29, 1982.
130. RDP-GEP, *op. cit.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. Personal communication, Lisbon, March 19, 1982.
133. Article 6-2 of Law 75/79.
134. Artur Sardinha, "A Situacao dos Conselhos de Redaccao e a Necessidade de Uma Viragem." Unpublished paper presented at Journalists' Congress, p. 4.
135. The plot of the soap opera, "Vila Faia," involved a family that owned a wine-producing company. Months after the series ended, a wine called "Vila Faia" appeared on the market.
136. RTP, "RTP 25 Years" (unnumbered), 1982, and RTP, *Relatorio e Contas — 1980* (undated), p. 45.
137. Manuel Jose Lopes da Silva, chief engineer, and Duarte Figueirao, director of news information (personal communications), Feb. 26, 1982, and tours of Lisbon and Oporto facilities.
138. Carlos Melo, director, Training Division (personal communication), March 18, 1982.
139. Data from Instituto Nacional de Estatistica. The 1980 figure is from RTP, *Relatorio*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
140. *O Dia* Sunday supplement, Jan. 23, 1983, p. VIII.
141. RTP, *Relatorio*, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-70.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
143. Personal communication, Lisbon, March 22, 1982.

144. Personal communication, Lisbon, March 29, 1982.
145. Louro, *op. cit.* (note 132).
146. Harold A Fisher, "Portugal," *World Press Encyclopedia*, 1982, p. 770.
147. *IPI Report*, 30:3 (March/April), 1980, p. 5.
148. *O Departamento de Comunicacao Social*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa Faculdade de Ciencias Sociais e Humanas, 1980, p. 1.
149. Fialho Pinto, chairman, Department of Rural Sociology (personal communication), Evora, Jan. 25, 1982.
150. *World Communications*. Paris: UNESCO, 1975, p. 436.
151. Personally observed by the coauthors.
152. Jose Augusto Seabra, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology (personal communication), Oporto, Jan. 11, 1982.
153. Manuel Laranjeiro Rodrigues de Areia, Institute of Anthropology (personal communication), Coimbra, Jan. 18, 1982.
154. *O Departamentc, op. cit.*
155. *IPI Report*, 30:3, *op. cit.*
156. Manuel Jose Lopes da Silva (personal communication and tour of facilities), Feb. 18, 1982. By 1982 the school had produced two books: Lopes da Silva, *Temas Filosoficos da Comunicacao*, and Andres Romero, *Metodologia de Analisis de Contenido*, both published by Portuguese Catholic University in 1981.
157. "Courses Catalogue and Program Suggestions" (undated mimeo).
158. Personal communication, Evora, Jan. 27, 1982.
159. Miguel Reis, "Os Socialistas e a Comunicacao Social," *Diario de Noticias*, Sept. 26, 1983, p. 2.
160. *Expresso*, Aug. 6, 1983, pp. 12R-13R. "Bi-color television" referred to the political hues of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties.
161. See footnote 16.
162. Quotations from the proposed law as reported in the press.
163. Silva Costa, "Governo 'suicida' os diarios," *O Jornal*, Oct. 14, 1983, p. 18.
164. "Governo prepara uma decisao para o *Diario Popular*," *O Jornal*, Dec. 1, 1983, p. 14.
165. Dinis de Abreu, "A Imprensa e o Poder," *Diario de Noticias*, Nov. 5, 1983, p. 2.
166. Silva Costa, "A nova lei contra a imprensa," *O Jornal*, Nov. 25, 1983, p. 39.
167. Nuno Rebocho, "Lei Almeida Santos Amordaca a Imprensa," *A Tarde*, Nov. 17, 1983, p. 7.

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